تاریخ فرشتہ

History of the Rise of the Mohamedan Power in India

Till the Year A.D. 1612

Translated from the Original Persian of

MOHAMED KASIM FERISHTA

Vol. II

JOHN BRIGGS
M.R.A.S.

HISTORY

OF THE

RISE OF THE MAHOMEDAN POWER

IN

INDIA,

TILL THE YEAR A.D. 1612.

TRANSLATED FROM THE

ORIGINAL PERSIAN OF MAHOMED KASIM FERISHTA,

BY

JOHN BRIGGS, M.R.A.S

LIEUTENANT COLONEL IN THE MADRAS ARMY

TO WHICH IS ADDED

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CONQUEST,

BY THE KINGS OF HYDRABAD

OF THOSE PARTS OF THE MADRAS PROVINCES DENOMINATED

THE CEDED DISTRICTS AND NORTHERN CIRCARS.

WITH COPIOUS NOTES

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HISTORY

OF THE

MAHOMEDAN POWER IN INDIA.

Dynasty of the House of Teimoor.

BABUR PADSHAH.*

Babur's origin—his pretensions to succeed to his father's dominions opposed by his uncles.—Babur occupies Furghana.—Peace concluded with his uncles.—He takes Samarkand.—His troops mutiny, and support the claims of his brother Jehangeer in Indijan.—Babur is reconciled to Jehangeer.—Sheebany Khan Oozbuk takes Samarkand, but is eventually expelled from it by Babur—he continues the war with Sheebany Khan, but is defeated, and driven from Transoxania.—Babur occupies Kabul, and establishes himself in that kingdom—he conquers Seewustan.—The King of Persia unites with

* Subsequent to this period, the kings of Dehly become so frequently engaged in war with other kings of India, that it becomes necessary to give them some distinguishing appellation, and this is the more proper here, as Babur, in his Memoirs, observes, "At this period (A. D. 1507) I ordered "that I should be styled Padshah."—See Erskine's edition of Leyden's Babur, p. 233.

Babur in an attack on Sheebany Khan, who is slain.—Babur recovers Samarkand, but is eventually compelled to quit it for ever—projects the invasion of India, on the invitation of Dowlut Khan Lody.—Babur sends an army with Alla-ood-Deen Lody.—Alla-ood-Deen unsuccessful.—Babur invades India, and defeats Ibrahim Lody, who is killed.—Babur ascends the throne of Dehly.—Difficulties occur in securing the conquest.—Confederacy of the Indians, both Mahomedans and Hindoos, to expel Babur.—The confederates are defeated.—Babur falls sick—his death.

At the time when Aboo Syeed Mirza suffered martyrdom in Eerak, he had eleven sons : Ahmud, Mahmood, Mahomed, Sharokh, Alugh Beg, Oomr Sheikh, Aba Bukr, Moorad, Khuleel, Sooltan, and Oomr. Four of these attained the dignity of kings. Alugh Beg Mirza succeeded to the throne of Kabul; Ahmud Mirza reigned over the kingdom of Samarkand; Oomr Sheikh Mirza ruled over the united provinces of Indijan and Furghana; and Mahmood Mirza over those of Koondooz and Budukhshan. Yoonoos Khan, King of Mogulistan, gave to each of those Kings, excepting Alugh Mirza, one of his daughters in marriage.

At the time when Oomr Sheikh Mirza ascended the throne of Furghana in the year 888, he had a son by Kootloogh Nigar Khanum, the daughter of Yoonoos Khan, whom he named Babur. The relationship between Teimoor (Tamerlane) and Babur is as follows: Sooltan Aboo Syeed Mirza, the son of Mahommed Mirza, the son of Meeran Shah Mirza, was the son of Ameer Teimoor Korkan. Mowlana Hissamy Kurragoozly composed the

following couplet, after the death of Babur, to commemorate his memory, which seems worth recording :

روز شش محرم زاد ان شه مکرم
تاریخ وفاتش هم امد شش محرم

This benevolent Prince was born on the sixth of Mohurrum, on which day also he died ; and in the words "sixth of Mohurrum" will be found the date of the year of his birth.

Babur, when as yet but 12 years old, discovered a capacity so uncommon, that his father gave him the management of the kingdom of Indijan. Oomr Sheikh Mirza, * on Monday the 4th of Rumzan, in the 890th year of the Hijra, fell, by an accident, from the roof of a pigeon-house, and being killed, Babur was advanced to the throne by his nobles, and assumed the title of Zeheer-ood-Deen.

Sooltan Ahmud Mirza, and Mahmood Khan the son of Yoonoos Khan, the former his paternal and the latter his maternal uncle, led their armies against the young Prince, to take revenge on him, on account of the war waged by his father against them ; hoping also, by the advantage which the accession of a child afforded, to appropriate his kingdoms to themselves.

In this dilemma, Ameer Sheerum, who was married to a sister of Babur's mother, wanted to convey away the youth into the mountains of Uzkund, in order to protect him, in case the nobles

* It is a curious coincidence that this prince, and his grandson Hoomayoon, should both have met their death by falling from the tops of houses—the one at Indijan, the other at Dehly.

of his court should be disposed to unite with his uncle, Sooltan Ahmud Mirza ; but he was dissuaded from taking this step by Mowlana Kazy, a descendant from Sheikh Boorhan-ood-Deen Bulkhy, and who at that time was an ameer of Indijan.

Babur accordingly employed himself in preparing for a siege; and Hoossein Yakoot and Ameer Nasir Kocheen, who had been detached to Furghana, being recalled, were indefatigable in their exertions on this occasion. Sooltan Ahmud Mirza, Baburs paternal uncle, having first occupied Furghana and Khoojund, emcamped within four fursukhs of Indijan. During this time, one Mahomed Dervish, who was discovered intriguing with the enemy, was brought before Babur, and suffered death from his own hand. Babur then deputed Mowlana Kazy, Zowzun Hussun, and Khwaja Hoossein as ambassadors to his uncle's camp; and conceiving it quite certain, that he would not think of relinquishing Samarkand as his capital, requested that he might be allowed to reside at Furghana, under a promise not to dispute the rest of the kingdom. Sooltan Ahmud Mirza, it is said, repenting of his severity towards his nephew, was himself disposed to agree to these terms; but he was overruled by his chiefs, who insisted on persevering in the siege of the fort of Indijan. Fortune, however, favoured Babur; for a raging pestilence suddenly broke out among the enemy's cavalry, so that their horses died off in great numbers daily, which compelled Sooltan Ahmud Mirza to raise the siege, and to leave the conduct of the negotiation (which was again

opened) in the hands of Ameer Dervish Mahomed; who, in concert with Hussun Yakoot, on the part of Babur, had several conferences, and concluded a peace, which was never ratified, Sooltan Ahmud Mirza having died on his march to Samarkand. Sooltan Mahmood Khan, the son of Yoonoos Khan, the maternal uncle of Babur, had now reached Akhsy, on his route to Furghana, where Jehangeer Mirza, a younger brother of Babur, to whom the defence of that place was intrusted, conceiving himself unable to cope with the enemy, fled, accompanied by Dervish Ally, Mirza Koolly Gokultash, Mahomed Bakur, Sheikh Abdoolla Sheebuk, Aka Veis, and Meer Gheias-ood-Deen Toghay, towards Kasan, the birth-place of Aka Veis, where Nasir Mirza, the youngest brother of Babur, now resided; but Sooltan Mahmood Khan pursuing them thither, that place was given up without resistance; after which, proceeding towards Akhsy, and finding he could not succeed in his enterprise, Sooltan Mahmood Khan retired to his own country.

At this time also the khans of Kashghar and Khootun led their armies towards the borders of Uzkund, against Babur; but they also, eventually, made peace. Babur now having gone to Furghana, appointed Hussun Yakoot his vizier, making him also governor of Indijan; but soon after Yakoot rebelled, in the year 900, and Babur attacked and compelled him to fly towards Samarkand, whither he was pursued, and afterwards killed near Akhsy.

In the same year also Ibrahim Sar, the governor of the fort of Asheera, having rebelled, caused the

khootba to be read in the name of Baesanghar Mirza, the son of Sooltan Mahmood Mirza, who had succeeded to the throne of Samarkand. Babur marched against him, and besieged Asheera, which he reduced in the space of forty days, and the rebel was obliged to come forth with a sword suspended round his neck, and a shroud hung over his shoulders. Babur, however, forgave him, and marched first to Khoojund, and from thence to Sharokhia, where he met his maternal uncle, Mahmood Khan, to whom he now became reconciled; in a few days after which, he returned to Indijan.

Baesanghar Mirza, king of Samarkand, having possessed himself of Aratiba, one of the provinces belonging to Oomr Sheikh Mirza, the father of Babur, the latter resolved to retake it, and marched accordingly with his army against it the very next season. Sheikh Zoolnoon, who held it on the part of Baesanghar Mirza, made a resolute defence, till the approach of winter obliging Babur to raise the siege, he returned to Indijan, both on that account, as well as to obtain supplies.

Babur, in the year following, led his army towards Samarkand, and formed an alliance with Sooltan Ally Mirza (the brother of Baesanghar Mirza), king of Bokhara, and who was also struggling for power. The confederates, however, unable to reduce Samarkand that year, returned home for the winter, having agreed to make great preparations for another campaign. Both Kings accordingly, in the year 902, in the beginning of the spring, took the route of Samarkand. Sooltan Ally Mirza having reached Samarkand first,

Baesanghar advanced, and encamped without the city walls, but upon Babur's arrival, he retreated within the town. In the night, Altoon Khwaja, who was going the rounds of Babur's camp, having discovered the retreat of Baesanghar Mirza, fell upon his rear, and put a great number of his people to the sword. Meanwhile Babur captured the fort of Asheera, situated at a small distance from the city, and invested Samarkand: this town was defended with bravery till the autumn, when the allies were compelled to raise the siege, and retire; Sooltan Ally Mirza returning to Bokhara, and Babur to Khwaja-Deedar, to pass the winter. In this state of affairs, Baesanghar Mirza sought an alliance, and requested assistance from Sheebany Khan, ruler of Toorkistan, who, avoiding Khwaja-Deedar, the winter-quarters of Babur, proceeded direct to Samarkand. Sheebany Khan and Baesanghar Mirza having quarrelled soon after, the former returned to his own country. This circumstance so much embarrassed the affairs of Baesanghar Mirza, that proceeding with a small retinue of 300 horse, he went in person to solicit the assistance of Khoosrow Shah, ruler of Koondooz.

Babur availed himself of this opportunity to hasten to Samarkand; and in the end of the year 903, having been admitted into the city, ascended the throne, and was acknowledged King by the greatest part of the nobles. Babur having taken the place by capitulation, forbade all plunder; but his troops became discontented and began to disperse. The Moguls, who were commanded by

one Ibrahim Chuk,* went off in a body, and were followed by Yar-Ally and several other nobles, with their followers, to Akhsy, where having joined Jehangeer Mirza, the brother of Babur, they required the latter to confer on Jehangeer the province of Indijan.

Babur, on receiving this message, gave vent to his indignation; and, in speaking of the perfidy of those chiefs who had deserted him, imprudently threw out reflections on those who remained. These resented this language by abandoning him, and joined his brother at Indijan. Babur, in the utmost distress, sent Altoon Khwaja to endeavour to conciliate his officers; but they sent a party to way-lay the ambassador, and cut him in pieces.

Ally Dost Toghay and Mowlana Kazy, the two chieftains in possession of Indijan, however, sent assurances of their fidelity to Babur, and resisted his brother's party; but unfortunately at this time Babur, being taken dangerously ill, was unable to avail himself of their attachment. His own life was saved with difficulty, by conveying sustenance through moistened cotton applied to his lips. When he recovered, he found the situation of his affairs most embarrassing; but he determined to incur even the risk of losing Samarkand, rather than sacrifice his paternal dominions. He accordingly directed his march towards Indijan; but Ally Dost Toghay and his party having heard that Babur was actually

* The tribes of Chuk and Makry become familiar to the reader in the Kashmeer history, though it is not quite clear how a Chuk should be at the head of a body of Moguls; the word, therefore, may be incorrect.

dead, had already capitulated, and given up the place to Jehangeer Mirza, who having cruelly caused the execution of Mowlana Kazy, ascended the throne, and caused the khootba to be read in his name. This intelligence, together with the reflection that he had also lost Samarkand, occasioned Babur the utmost distress.

In this dilemma, as his last resource, he deputed Ameer Kasim Kocheen to Tashkund, to entreat the assistance of his maternal uncle, Sooltan Mahmood Khan, the son of Yoonoos Khan, who hastened to Chilka Ahungiran, where he and Babur met: an emissary came at the same time to Sooltan Mahmood Khan from Jehangeer Mirza, on which he resolved to allow his two nephews to settle their own differences, himself returning to Tashkund. This unexpected defection had such an effect upon Babur's troops, that of all his army, in a few days, only two hundred horsemen remained with him. In this forlorn condition, he retreated to Khoojund: from thence he applied to Mahmood Hossein Korkan, at Doghlat, acquainting him, that the place in which he then was could not protect him from his enemies; he therefore earnestly solicited him to permit him to pass the winter at Saghir. Mahmood Hossein consented, and Babur accordingly took up his quarters there, and began to recruit a new army.

After having collected a few soldiers round his standard, and reflecting that his future success depended entirely on the reputation of his arms, he resolved to employ himself in active operations. He therefore returned to Eelak, where he took

some forts by assault, and some by stratagem; but these petty exploits were of little service to him, for his affairs bore still a very gloomy aspect. He received in the mean time a message from Ally Dost Toghay, begging his forgiveness. He informed him that he was in possession of the garrison of Furghunian,* and promised, if Babur would take possession of it, he would again devote himself to his service. Babur did not hesitate to avail himself of this overture, and arriving at Furghunian, he was met by Ally Dost at the gate, who surrendered the fort into his hands. Babur having recruited his finances, sent Ameer Kasim Kocheen towards the mountains of Indijan, and Ibrahim Sar and Veis† Laghiry towards Akhsy to gain partisans. This measure had the desired effect, for the mountaineers of Indijan at once espoused his cause; while Ibrahim Sar and Veis Laghiry having accommodated matters with the governors of Bab, and two or three other forts, declared in favour of Babur. At the same time also, he procured assistance from his uncle Sooltan Mahmood Khan, of Bokhara.

Zowzun Hussun, and Sooltan Ahmud Tumbole, having heard of the loss of Furghunian, proceeded with Jehangeer Mirza to attack that place. This they effected, and marched towards Akhsy; but on the road, falling in with Sooltan Mahmood Khan, Jehangeer Mirza's army was defeated with great slaughter, and both he and Zowzun Hussun

* This may perhaps be Murghinan.—Vide Erskine's map.

† My MSS. have Ooveis, but I have followed Erskine's reading in preference.

fled precipitately to Indijan, attended only by four or five followers. Nasir Beg, a relative of Zowzun Hussun, who held the government of Indijan, perceiving the favourable aspect of Babur's affairs, opposed Jehangeer Mirza, and having sent a messenger to Babur, offered to surrender the place into his hands. These events ruined the affairs of Jehangeer Mirza, who now took the route of Oosh, and Zowzun Hussun that of Akhsy.

Babur having occupied Indijan, conferred honours upon Nasir Beg and his followers. Thus the capital of Furghana, in the month of Zeekad, in the year 904, was restored to its former master. On the fourth day after his arrival, Babur proceeded to Akhsy, and expelled Zowzun Hussun, who fled to Khoozar. Kasim Ajeeb was appointed governor of Akhsy, and Babur returned to Indijan, accompanied by most of the followers of Zowzun Hussun. On this occasion, some of Babur's officers representing that these troops were the same who had formerly plundered several chiefs then in his army, and had put Mowlana Kazy to death, orders were issued permitting all those who had suffered to recover from them what they had lost. The Moguls gaining timely information mounted their horses, and to a man proceeded to Uzkund, where they related the cause of their coming to Sooltan Ahmud Tumbole, who in conjunction with Jehangeer Mirza now marched against Indijan. Babur sent Ameer Kasim Kocheen to oppose them; but he was defeated with great slaughter, and many of the King's principal officers were slain, and several taken prisoners.

The enemy now advanced and laid siege to Indijan for the space of thirty days: but as they could effect nothing against it, they turned their arms against Oosh. Babur having recruited his army, marched in the year 905, to its relief: but the enemy, hearing of his approach, suddenly decamped, and made a forced march to Indijan, the suburbs of which they plundered. Babur, however, relying on the garrison and on the strength of the place, proceeded to Badawurd, a strong fort in possession of Khuleel, brother to Sooltan Ahmud Tumbole. Khuleel defended the place with great obstinacy; but was at length forced to capitulate, and he together with eighty other persons, being taken, were detained as prisoners, and sent to Indijan, in reprisal for an equal number of his own officers, who had fallen into the enemy's hands.

A.H. 905.
A.D. 1499.

Sooltan Ahmud Tumbole, in the mean time, made an unsuccessful attempt to scale the walls of Indijan in the night. On obtaining this information, Babur returned to its support, and took up a strong position on the banks of the river in sight of the enemy, where he remained for the space of forty days. At length he attacked their camp, situated at Deh Khooban, three fursukhs* distant from Indijan. After an obstinate resistance, the enemy was defeated, and Sooltan Ahmud Tumbole and Jehangeer Mirza sought safety in flight. The King after the victory entered Indijan in triumph; but he shortly after received information

* Nine m les.

that six thousand horse from Sooltan Mahmood Khan, ruler of Bokhara, had, in aid of Jehangeer Mirza, appeared before the fort of Kasan. Though it was now the depth of winter, and the frost and snow severe, Babur marched to attack this party, which, without making resistance, retreated to its own country. Sooltan Ahmud Tumbole, who was on his march to reinforce it, fell in accidentally with Babur's troops, in a situation where the former could not have escaped had not the night favoured his flight, owing to which he retreated with little loss. Babur pursued him to the walls of Booskar, near to which he encamped.

On the fourth day, Ally Dost Toghay and Kumbur Ally prevailed upon the King to make overtures for peace, proposing that Jehangeer Mirza should retain possession of all the country between the river of Khoojund and Akhsy, and that Indijan and the district of Uzkund should remain in possession of Babur; but it was agreed that if the latter should ever recover the kingdom of Samarkand, he should give up Indijan to Jehangeer Mirza. These terms being solemnly ratified by mutual oaths, the brothers had an interview, and the prisoners on both sides were released. Babur returned to Indijan, where he found that Ally Dost Toghay, who possessed considerable wealth and power, had ventured to exert unlicensed authority; that he had banished Ameer Khuleefa, had imposed fines on Ibraham Sar and Veis Laghiry, without the King's permission, and had encouraged his son Mahomed Dost to assume the ensigns of royalty. Babur,

however, found it convenient to restrain his resentment for the present, owing to the great influence of Ally Dost, and to the numerous formidable enemies by whom he was himself surrounded. At this time, also, Mahomed Moorad Turkhan, an officer of Sooltan Ally Mirza, ruler of Samarkand, being discontented with his master, connected himself with Khan Miza, one of the sons of Sooltan Mahmood Mirza, and attacked Samarkand; but being repulsed with loss, they made overtures to Babur to induce him to engage in the same enterprize. Babur, embracing the proposal, proceeded direct towards Samarkand, and Mahomed Moorad Turkhan, having joined him on the march, they resolved to depute a person to gain over Khwaja Kootb-ood-Deen Yehya, a holy man, who had vast influence over the inhabitants. Kootb-ood-Deen, entering into their views, assured them they might march on the city, and rely on success.

In the mean time, Sooltan Mahmood Doldy one of Babur's officers, having deserted to Samarkand, informed the enemy of the correspondence with Khwaja Kootb-oob-Deen Yehya, which completely disconcerted Babur's measures, and he was compelled to relinquish his enterprise. Meanwhile the troops of Ally Dost Toghay, disgusted with their chief, crowded to the King's camp with complaints against that chief, and he finding his importance shaken, abandoned the service of Babur, and, with his son, went over to Sooltan Ahmud Tumbole, in whose camp he arrived a short time after.

At this period, news arrived that Sheebany Khan had taken Bokhara, and was on full march to

attack Samarkand, which Sooltan Ally Mirza, at the instance of his mother, surrendered without opposition. Babur accordingly fell back on Kish, and from thence to Khoozar, where Mahomed Moorad Turkhan, and the officers who invited him to attack Samarkand, left him, and joined Khoosrow Shah. Babur, after this defection, was obliged to retreat by the route of Sirtak to Eelak, over rocks, stones, and rugged paths, by which his army suffered exceedingly, having lost most of his camels and horses on the march. This circumstance dispirited his troops to such a degree, that they all deserted him before he reached Eelak, excepting two hundred and forty men.

In this state of affairs, Babur called together his officers, and consulted them as to his future operations. It was resolved, that as Sheebany Khan had only lately got possession of Samarkand, and the inhabitants had not yet probably become reconciled to the Oozbuks, that he should make an attempt to take the place; and that as it was part of the hereditary dominions of Babur, it seemed likely, although the people might not actually aid him, they would not be very active in opposing him; and it was thought that the possession of the city would retrieve his affairs. Babur accordingly marched, and reached Yoonoos Khan in the dusk of the evening; but understanding the garrison was on the alert, he refrained from making the attempt at that time. After having got clear of the city, he says, in his Memoirs, he looked back, and repented of his precipitate flight; and being wearied with the fatigue of the day, he laid himself down in a grove to

sleep, as did the greatest part of his retinue. He states that in about an hour after, he awoke from a dream, in which he imagined he saw Abdoolla, a Dervish of great repute, coming towards his house; that Babur, inviting him to sit down, caused his steward to spread a table-cloth before him, on which the holy man, apparently offended, rose to go away. Babur begged of him to stay; but the Dervish, holding him by the arm, raised him up towards the sky. Babur, awaking, called his attendants, and related his dream, which was considered a fortunate omen, and he determined to persevere in his attempt on Samarkand.*

Babur's small party, mounting their horses, accordingly returned, and reached the bridge of Moghat about midnight; from whence he detached eighty men before him, to a low part of the wall near the Lover's Cave, which was scaled by the help of a hook-rope; and, coming round to the Feroza gate, his party fell upon the guard commanded by Kasid† Turkhan, and either killed or dispersed the whole. The gate being opened, admitted Babur with two hundred and forty men. Babur's party proclaimed his name as they passed through the street, and gave an opportunity to all his friends within the place to join him; while his enemies, not knowing his strength, ran confusedly from place to place looking for their leaders. The alarm soon reached the house of Khwaja Kootb-ood-Deen Yehya, where

* This story is related by Babur, in his own Memoirs.—Vide Erskine's Babur, p. 87. 4to. edit.

† It should be Fazil, according to Erskine's translation of Babur.

Khan Wufa Mirza, governor of the city, and several Oozbuk chiefs had taken up their quarters. On hearing the noise, they all joined Sheebany Khan, who, with 7000 men, occupied the fort of Khwaja Deedar. Sheebany Khan selected a party of 150 men (commanding the rest to wait for orders), and proceeded to the iron gate; but finding that Babur had gained some thousand partisans, who rent the sky with acclamations, and being unable either by words or example to make the Oozbuks stand their ground, he passed through the opposite gate, and fled towards Bokhara, while Samarkand quietly submitted to Babur's authority.

It was on this occasion, that Mowlana Sunayee, the poet, and Khwaja Abool Burkat of Samarkand, were first introduced to Babur, and subsequently accompanied his court. The following is a translation from theCommentaries of Babur, written by himself in Toorky, giving an account of the taking of Samarkand:—"Sooltan Hoossein Mirza took the fort of Hirat in a manner similar to that of my own successful attack on Samarkand; but there was a great difference in the circumstances under which we acted. In the first place, Sooltan Hoossein Mirza was an old and experienced soldier; while, on the contrary, his enemy, Yadgar Mahomed Mirza, was a youth of seventeen, without experience either in war or politics. In the second place, he was invited to take possession of Hirat by Ameer Ally Meer Akhoor, one of the most powerful of the enemy's officers. In the third place, his enemy, Yadgar Mahomed Mirza, was at the time he entered the town in a state of intoxication in

one of his gardens, and the soldiery were off their guard. Thus situated, he easily succeeded in securing his person, and was immediately joined by the party of Ameer Ally Mirza, who had planned the whole enterprise.

"My situation at the capture of Samarkand was very different. I was then only nineteen, and had seen but little service; my enemy, Sheebany Khan, was an old and experienced chieftain, who had many friends, was constantly on the alert within, and was prepared to combat either in attack or intrigue, so that no one had an opportunity of inviting me, or making arrangements to favour my plans; and although I had many well-wishers in the place, yet, such was Sheebany Khan's vigilance and precaution, that they were prevented from communicating with me. Besides which, his general, Khan Wufa Mirza, in command of 600 Oozbuks, (the most choice men of his army, and the faithful personal guard of Sheebany Khan) had the patrole of the night; notwithstanding all which disadvantages, I took the city, put the King to flight, and routed his army; and although my first effort failed, I did not despair, but succeeded in a second attempt, a very few hours afterwards. I do not intend by this account to extol my own actions; but in writing a history of my military career, it is proper I should state things as they really occurred."

Let it not be concealed from my readers, that this exploit of Babur very much resembles that of his ancestor, Ameer Teimoor Korkan, who with two hundred and forty-three men attacked and

carried the fort of Koorshy by assault; but Babur seems not to have alluded to this circumstance, from the apprehension of being thought presumptuous in comparing his actions with those of that great captain. At that time there was no governor ruler in Koorshy. The two chieftains, Meer Hoossein and Meer Moosa, were encamped outside of the fort, while Mahomed Beg, a child, the son of Meer Moosa, was left in the fort. Samarkand, on the other hand, the residence of a king, was a large and well-fortified city, which no one ever conceived was to be taken by force. It is consequently denominated in all historical works, Samarkand, "the abode of safety." Koorshy, on the contrary, is a small town, governed by a darogha; so that the difference is as great as the distance of the poles!

But to return to our history: Samarkand being occupied by Babur, Sheebany Khan retired to Bokhara; and Mahomed Moorad Turkhan took this opportunity of wresting the forts of Koorshy and Khoozar* from the Oozbuks, while Abool Hoossein Mirza, from Mura and Kish, came and took Kurra-Kole.† Babur sent ambassadors to Sooltan Hoossein Mirza and other neighbouring princes, his relations, to request their aid in expelling Sheebany Khan out of Mavur-ool-Nehr; but they either paid no regard to his represent-

* Two forts, situated within 15 miles of each other, and lying 40 miles south of Samarkand.

† This place is situated 30 miles nearly due south from Bokhara.

ations, or rendered such insufficient assistance as to be of little use. Sheebany Khan by this means recovered strength during the winter, and took Karakole and other districts.

Shuval, A. H. 906, March. A. D. 1499.

In the month of Shuval, 906, Babur collected his whole force, together with the reinforcements which had joined him, and marched out of Samarkand to attack Sheebany Khan, whom he engaged in the neighbourhood of Karwan. On this occasion Babur evinced the qualities both of a general and a brave soldier; but being deserted by the troops of Sooltan Mahmood Khan, by Jehangeer Mirza, and by other princes who had been sent to his aid, as well as by his own troops, and left with only fifteen men, he found it in vain to contend any longer. He accordingly made good his retreat to Samarkand; having lost several officers of distinction, such as Ibrahim Turkhan, Ibrahim Sar, Abool Kasim Koh, Hydur Kasim, Ameer Kasim Kocheen, Fidayee Roomy, and Khuleel, the brother of Ahmud Tumbole, besides many others, all of whom fell in the action. Sheebany Khan now laid siege to Samarkand; and Babur took up his quarters at the college of Alugh Beg Mirza, as being the most central situation for sending orders or reinforcements. The siege was continued with great obstinacy and loss on both sides; during which time Kooch Beg Toorkoman, Gokultash Beg, and Gool Nuzr Toghay, gave extraordinary proofs of their valour. Four months passed in the attack and defence, when a famine began to rage in the city. The inhabitants subsisted on horse-flesh, and even

ate dogs and cats, while those who could not procure other provisions were constrained to feed on the bark of trees.

Though Babur at the commencement of the siege had sent ambassadors to the Kings of Khorassan, Koondooz, Boklan, and Mogulistan for succours, he received no hopes of aid from them, and he was therefore under the necessity of abandoning his capital and kingdom, with about a hundred friends, in a dark night in the beginning of the year 907. He escaped to Tashkund, whither his brother, Jehangeer Mirza, came to pay his respects. His maternal uncle, Sooltan Mahmood Khan, also comforted him in his distress, entertaining him in a princely manner, and giving him the town of Aratiba to reside in during the winter. In the beginning of the spring, Babur was again attacked by Sheebany Khan, who being unable to take Aratiba, plundered the country, and retreated to Samarkand. In this condition, Babur, unable to raise his head from his misfortunes, resided for some time with his uncle, Sooltan Mahmood Khan, at Tashkund, till at length that chief and his brother, Ahmud Khan, known by the name of Olcha Khan, furnished troops to enable him to recover the country wrested out of his hands by Sooltan Ahmud Tumbole. When the confederates had reached the boundaries of Ferghana, Sooltan Ahmud Tumbole marched out to oppose them. It was resolved that Babur with a small detachment of Moguls should march towards Oosh, whilst his uncles attacked Ahmud Tumbole. Babur accordingly took Oosh,

A. H. 907.
A. D. 1501.

and was joined by some of the inhabitants of Uzkund and Furghinian, who expelled the garrisons of Sooltan Ahmud Tumbole. Babur now proceeded towards Indijan, when Ahmud Tumbole, decamping from before the confederate princes, hastened back to its relief.

Ahmud Tumbole, having by accident fallen in with Babur's camp while he was on a foraging party, was defeated, and escaped wounded to Oosh, when, throwing himself into Indijan, he prepared for its defence. The next day, the allied army of Sooltan Mahmood Khan, and Sooltan Ahmud Khan, appearing in sight, sat down before the place, where they were soon joined by Babur. Some time after this, the inhabitants of Akhsy having invited Babur, put him in possession of that place; but the allied troops, unable to reduce Indijan, were compelled to raise the siege.

In the mean time, Sheebany Khan, resolving to check the progress of Babur, advanced with an army towards Akhsy. Babur and his brother immediately joined the allies, and prepared to receive the enemy; but in the action which ensued, and which was obstinately contested, Sheebany Khan prevailed, and both the uncles of Babur were taken prisoners. Babur, escaping to Mogulistan, abandoned the kingdom of Tashkund, which fell into the hands of Sheebany Khan. Sheebany Khan, however, some time after, released Babur's two uncles. Sooltan Mahmood Khan retired from the field, and became afflicted with a complication of diseases. It is related, that when one of his friends hinted that Sheebany Khan had poisoned him, and offered

to supply him with some famous tiriak* of Khutta as a powerful antidote, the Prince replied. "Yes," "Sheebany Khan has poisoned me indeed! He "has taken away my kingdom, which it is not in "the power of your teriak of Khutta to restore."

Babur, leaving Mogulistan, proceeded to Khoozar and Shadman, and from thence to Toormooz, where Ameer Mahomed Bakir, uneasy at the ascendancy of the Oozbuks, availed himself of Babur's alliance. Babur still retained the command of some troops, and was received by him with great kindness. Ameer Mahomed Khan assisted him also with money. Babur, who had long been the football of fortune, and, like a king of a chess-board, moved from place to place, and buffeted about like the pebble on the sea-shore, begged the friendly advice of his host as to his future operations. Ameer Mahomed Bakir replied, that as Sheebany Khan was now in full possession of Babur's kingdom, and of many others, which rendered him extremely powerful, it seemed advisable for him to pursue his fortune elsewhere, and directed his attention to Kabul, which was now in a state of anarchy.

A. H. 910. A. D. 1504. Babur, adopting this advice, in the year 910 marched towards Kabul, and passing through the dominions of Khoosrow Shah, ruler of Koondooz, he was entertained by him with hospitality, as some reparation for the injuries he had formerly sustained from him. While at

* Tiriak is a compound medicine, of which opium forms a principal ingredient, and is used as an opiate, and to soothe pain.

Koondooz, Babur induced seven thousand of Khoosrow Shah's troops to join him in his march to the southward ; and Khoosrow Shah, apprehensive of Babur, fled with a few servants, and took protection with Budee-ool-Zeman.* On this occasion, three or four thousand Mogul families, together with part of the treasure of Khoosrow Shah, fell into the hands of Babur, who availing himself of these advantages, proceeded direct to the south.

Kabul had been long in the hands of Alugh Beg Mirza, one of the sons of Sooltan Aboo Syeed Mirza, who dying in the year 907, (A. D. 1501.) and leaving an infant son, Abdool Ruzak Mirza, the whole management of his affairs fell into the hands of one Zuky Beg, who having disgusted the other nobles, was assassinated in the month Zeehuj. This circumstance occasioned great convulsions in the kingdom ; for Mahomed Mokeem, the youngest son of Ameer Zoolnoon, prince of Gurmseer, taking advantage of the intestine divisions of the Kabulies, invaded their country with an army of Huzaras, and forcing Abdool Ruzak Mirza to take shelter among the Afghans, took quiet possession of Kabul, and married the daughter of Alugh Beg Mirza. Affairs were in this state when Babur, arriving on the borders of Kabul, drove Mahomed Mokeem from the field, and forced him to take refuge in the city, which Babur besieged and took. He then applied himself to regulate and improve the country, as belonging to himself.

* Ruler of Mawur-ool-Nehr.

Mohurrum 1. A. H. 911. June 3. A. D. 1505. On the 1st of Mohurrum, A. H. 911, Kootloogh Nigar Khan, the mother of Babur, died at Kabul. In this year also the inhabitants of Kabul were thrown into great consternation by dreadful earthquakes, which laid many cities in ruins. Babur endeavoured to alleviate the public calamity in such a manner by his unwearied care and extensive benevolence, that he gained the love and attachment of his new subjects. The ambition of Babur, however, could not rest; he accordingly led an army against the Arghoons, and having deprived them of the strong fort of Kilat, established an alliance with Buddee-ooz-Zeman Mirza. He marched in the same year to the Kishlakat-i-Huzara, the inhabitants of which he brought into subjection, and conferred the government of Ghizny on his brother Jehangeer; but after some time, the latter, quitting Ghizny without permission, came to Kabul, and on meeting with a reproof from Babur, he departed suddenly, and proceeded into the Kishlakat-i-Huzara.

A.H. 912. A.D. 1506. In the year 912, Babur marched towards Khorassan to join Sooltan Hoossein Mirza, who, ashamed of his former behaviour, and irritated by fresh injuries from Sheebany Khan, now proposed to Babur, that they should unite in alliance against the Oozbuks. On the road, however, he was induced to return, to take measures against Jehangeer Mirza. The officers of Jehangeer, perceiving the intention of Babur, deserted the Prince, who thought fit to

come to his brother Babur's camp, where he procured pardon, and went with the army towards Khorassan. But no sooner had Babur reached Murv than he heard of Sooltan Hoossein Mirza's death. It is stated in the Wakaya Babury (Commentaries of Babur), that out of respect alone for the family of the Mirza, Babur proceeded to Khorassan, and endeavoured to induce the princes and nobles to act against the Oozbuks. Babur was not wholly without motives for this conduct, for he was naturally desirous of bringing the Oozbuks to action, and consequently pushed on till he reached Moorghab, where the Khorassanies were encamped. On the 8th of Jumad-ool-Akhir, Moozuffur Hoossein Mirza and Abool Hussun Mirza were directed by Buddee-ool-Zuman Mirza to meet and congratulate him on his arrival, and to escort him to the camp of Buddee-ool-Zuman Mirza; but the princes and officers of Khorassan, little inclined to face the Oozbuks in battle, proposed that, as the weather was extremely hot, they should retire to their cool summer retreats. Babur proceeded in the first place to Hirat, where having remained some time with Buddee-ool-Zuman Mirza, he returned in the autumn to Kabul. The snow falling heavily at this season, he with difficulty reached the country of the Huzaras, with whom he was compelled to fight, and force his passage to his capital.

Jumad-ool-Akhir 8. A. H. 912. Sept. 24. A. D. 1506.

While Babur was engaged with the Huzaras, Mahomed Hoossein Korkan, Sunjur Birlas, and other Mogul officers in Kabul, promoted the

pretensions of Khan Mirza to the throne, by fabricating false intelligence of the King's death. He was both uncle and cousin of Babur. But when the news of Babur's return reached the people, they rebelled against the new government; and, as soon as the season permitted his approach, flocking to his standard, they put all the garrisons into his hands except the capital, where Khan Mirza and his adherents sustained a short siege, but eventually fled, and took protection with the descendants of Ameer Zoolnoon, while Mahomed Hoossein Khan fled in the direction of Furrah and Seestan. At this time, Nasir Mirza, Babur's youngest brother, who held the government of Budukhshan, being defeated by one of the generals of Sheebany Khan, came to Kabul; and as Jehangeer Mirza, about the same period, died from excess of drinking, the government of Ghizny was conferred on Nasir Mirza.

A. D. 931.
A. D. 1507.

In the year 913, Babur marched against the Khiljies, a race which infested his country; and having taken from them 100,000 sheep, and some thousands of other cattle, returned to his capital. The nobles of the house of Arghoon, being greatly oppressed by the Oozbuks, now wrote to Babur, that if he would send troops for the purpose, they would put him in possession of Kandahar. Babur instantly proceeded in that direction, and on reaching Kilat, Khan Mirza begged permission to be admitted into his presence, and receiving his pardon, accompanied him on the expedition. Having reached the borders of Kandahar, Babur wrote to Shah Beg Arghoon and to Mahomed Mokeem, that he was

so far on his way according to their desire, and that, therefore, he expected to see them in his camp. Since the time of their inviting Babur, however, some alteration in their politics had taken place, and they repented of the application they had made: so that instead of receiving the King in a friendly manner, they prepared to oppose him.

Babur engaged his treacherous allies at the village of Khuttuk, near the city of Kandahar; and having defeated them with great slaughter, cut off their retreat from the city. Shah Beg fled to Yesawul, and Mahomed Mokeem towards Zumeen-Dawur. Babur laid siege to Kandahar, and took it, with all the wealth of the family of Ameer Zoolnoon, which he divided by weight amongst his officers and troops according to their rank; after which, leaving Nasir Mirza, his brother, in the government of Kandahar and Zumeen Dawur, Babur returned in triumph to Kabul.

Mahomed Mokeem joined Sheebany Khan, and prevailed on him to march against Nasir Mirza; who, on receiving this intelligence, shut himself up in Kandahar, and sent expresses to his brother for assistance. Babur enjoined him to defend the place till the last; but, if he should be driven to extremity, to capitulate, and join him at Kabul. Babur stated, at the same time, that he was in no condition to dispute the field with Sheebany Khan, whose resources were so greatly superior to his own; besides, that a defeat might ruin him for ever, and overset the design he had formed of establishing himself in Hindoostan.

Some of his nobles advised him to endeavour to occupy Budukhshan in preference, while others

approved of the attack on Hindoostan. Babur adopted the latter plan, and began his march towards India. He was detained for some time among the mountains, and finding his means deficient, he, for the present, gave up his intention, and returned to Kabul. Nasir Mirza, according to his instructions, finding he could hold out no longer with propriety in Kandahar, capitulated, and joined the King at Kabul. Sheebany Khan, after taking the town of Kandahar, ordered Abdoolla Sooltan, one of his chiefs, to persevere till he got possession of the fort also, and then directed him to make it over to the family of Ameer Zoolnoon, while he himself marched with his army towards Khorassan. Shortly after this, the fort of Kandahar also fell, and was restored to the Arghoons.

Zeekad 4. A. H. 913. March 7. A. D. 1508.

On the 4th of Zeekad of this year, Babur had a son born to him in Kabul, whom he named Hoomayoon.

A. H. 914. A. D. 1508.

In the following year, he took the field against the Meimundy Afghans; but, during his absence, the Moguls of Khoosrow Shah, who had been left to defend Kabul, revolting, raised the King's cousin Abdool Ruzak Mirza, the son of his uncle Alugh Beg Mirza, to the throne. Babur was now suddenly deserted by the greatest part of his army; who, hearing of the rebellion in Kabul, hastened to join their families: insomuch, that out of upwards of 10,000 horse, which he carried to the field, scarcely 500 men remained with him.

Notwithstanding these misfortunes, Babur boldly advanced towards Kabul, with the few trusty friends he had with him. Abdool Ruzak

Mirza marched out to oppose him; but Babur, with his small band, attacking the enemy with impetuosity, defeated them, and with his own hand slew the following chiefs: Ally Shubkoor, Ally Seestancy, Nuzr Bahadur Oozbuk, Yakoot Sheer Chung, and Oozbuk Bahadur. Abdool Ruzak Mirza was taken prisoner; but so great was Babur's clemeny on this occasion, that he pardoned him, though soon after Abdool Ruzak again engaged in rebellion, and suffered death.

The country of Khoosrow Shah, ruler of Koondooz, having fallen into the hands of the Oozbuks, who took no proper means of keeping it in subjection, a number of independent chiefs arose in Budukhshan, of whom the principal was one Zoobeir. In this state of affairs Khan Mirza, the son of Khoosrow Shah, was influenced by his mother, Shah Begum, who traced her descent from the ancient kings of Budukhshan, to take measures to raise himself to the throne of that kingdom. Having previously obtained the consent of Babur, he left Kabul, and raising a small army, advanced towards the borders of Budukhshan. His mother, who came up in the rear, was intercepted by a body of Kashghar troops, made prisoner, and carried off to Aba Bukr Mirza of Kashgar. Khan Mirza, in the mean time, was seized by Zoobeir, who kept him also in confinement. Yoosoof Ally Gokultash, an old servant of Khan Mirza, however, having formed a conspiracy against Zoobeir, assassinated him, and elevated Khan Mirza to the throne. It is mentioned in the Wakaya Babury, that the Kings of Budukhshan, from whom Shah Begum

was descended, traced their pedigree from Alexander the Great, son of Philip.

A. H. 916.
A. D. 1510.

In the year 916, Shah Ismael Sufvy, King of Persia, wrote to Sheebany Khan to withdraw his troops from some parts of his dominions, on which the Oozbuks had made encroachments. Sheebany Khan replied, that it was only for those who were descended from kings to entertain thoughts of empire; but it was true Shah Ismael had raised himself to the throne, when there was no such prince as himself in his neighbourhood to oppose him; but that now he should recommend his retiring to his former obscurity; and that, for that purpose, he sent him a staff and a beggar's dish, the badges of his inheritance. "For," added he, "those only like myself are "worthy of possessing the bride of sovereignty, who "dare kiss her through opposing swords." Shah Ismael replied, that if empire was an inheritance, it would never have left the race of the Peshdadians. That by the same rule, Chungiz Khan would never have attained empire, nor Sheebany Khan himself succeeded to the throne he had overturned. That, for his own part, he had always considered the right of kings as founded on power, and that the longest sword was the best title. That with the latter he was at all times ready to contend with such as Sheebany Khan; and that, though he himself had no disposition to a display of ostentation, yet, in return for Sheebany Khan's present, he had sent him a spinning-wheel for his amusement. "As for the rest," added he, "I "shall be my own messenger."

Having dispatched this communication, Shah Ismael marched eastward, and expelled the Oozbuks from Khorassan. He did not halt till he reached Murv, where Sheebany Khan sustained a siege, and being severely reproached by Shah Ismael for remaining within the walls, he marched out and gave him battle, but was defeated. In his flight he had the misfortune to be overtaken, and surrounded in a walled park, with about 500 relatives and Oozbuk chiefs, from whence there was no escape: he was attacked by the Kuzilbashies of Shah Ismael, and in this situation he and all his followers were put to the sword.

Khan Mirza dispatched accounts of this important event from Budukhshan to Babur, and went himself to Koondooz, to influence him to recover his former dominions. Accordingly, in the year 917, Babur Marched towards Khoozar, and crossed the Oxus, in company with Khan Mirza. An army of Oozbuks lay encamped near Budukhshan, which Babur not being able to attack, was obliged to retreat to Koondooz. Shah Ismael at this time sent Khanzada Begum (Babur's sister) to him. This Princess had been made prisoner at the capture of Samarkand by Sheebany Khan, who afterwards married her. She was now restored, with all her property, and sent from Murv to Koondooz. On her arrival, she gave so flattering an account of the generous conduct of Shah Ismael, that Babur hoped to induce him to lend his assistance in reinstating him in his hereditary kingdom. He accordingly deputed Khan Mirza as ambassador, with proper presents to Shah Ismael's court,

A. H. 917.
A. D. 1511.

and himself, marched towards Khoozar. Finding the Oozbuks strongly posted at that place, he declined attacking them till reinforced. His troops arriving, Babur advanced to the Oozbuk camp, and offered them battle. An action ensued, wherein Babur obtained a complete victory, for which he was mainly indebted to Khan Mirza, who had rejoined him. In a few days after, Babur was joined by Ahmud Sooltan Soofy, Ally Koolly Khan Oostajloo,* and Sharokh Afshar, with a fine body of cavalry, on the part of the King of Persia, so that his army now amounted to 60,000 horse. With this force having taken Koondooz, Khoozar, and Boklan, Babur marched towards Bokhara, and after several successful actions with Abdulla Sooltan and Jany Beg Sooltan, he subdued that kingdom. On the 15th of Rujub of the same year, he marched from Bokhara to Samarkand, which city surrendered to him the third time, and acknowledged him as its sovereign. Babur, having fixed his residence at Samarkand, appointed Nasir Mirza, his brother, to the government of Kabul, and gave permission to the troops of Persia to return. Babur had not been seated on his new throne, however,

Rujub 15. A. H. 917. October 9. A. D. 1511.

* The Tartar tribes of Oostajloo, Afshar, Kajar, and others, which are occasionally mentioned as coming from Persia, had by this time become naturalised in that country, and were portions of those hordes which had invaded it, and remained there from the time of the Suljookies. Their numbers were subsequently increased by the hordes which Chungiz and Tiemoor led; and at the present day we see Tartar kings reigning alike in China, India, Persia, and Constantinople, over nations of foreigners.

above nine months, when the Oozbuks, who had fled to Toorkistan, returned under Teimoor Sooltan, who succeeded to the government of Sheebany Khan. On receiving these advices, Babur marched to defend Bokhara, in the vicinity of which place he engaged the Oozbuks; but was defeated, and obliged to shut himself up within the walls of the city, which, in the end, he abandoned, and retreated to Samarkand. Herein he was again besieged, and compelled to fall back on Khoozar and Shadman.

About this time Nujm-ool-Sany, of Isfahan, a Persian general, advanced with the intention of occupying Bulkh; and Babur, fully bent on recovering his paternal dominions, made common cause with him. Nujm-ool-Sany, having taken the fort of Furas from the Oozbuks, put the garrison, consisting of 15,000 men, to the sword, and laid siege to Kujdiwan, in conjunction with Babur. Shortly after, a body of Oozbuks advanced against them from Bokhara. Fortune being still adverse to Babur, Nujm-ool-Sany and the greater portion of his army were cut off, and Babur was compelled to fly to Khoozar with a few attendants. Nor were his misfortunes confined to defeat by the enemy; for having reproached his troops with their misconduct, they conspired against his life, and a party rushing into his tent at midnight attempted to assassinate him. Babur, aroused by the opposition of his guard, made his escape, and reached the citadel of Khoozar before morning, without one attendant: the conspirators then plundered his camp, and dispersed. In this situation, seeing little hope of success in the north, Babur proceeded direct to Kabul, with a

small retinue. On his arrival, he rein-
A. H. 924. A. D. 1518. stated Nasir Mirza in the government of Ghizny. In the year 924, he marched towards Swad and Bejowr, then possessed by the Afghans of the tribe of Yoosoofzye. He defeated those mountaineers, and carrying some thousands of them away with him, he intrusted the management of that country to Khwaja Kulan.

On the death of Sikundur Lody, King of Hindoostan, he was succeeded, as we have already related, by his son Ibrahim. In his reign, the Afghan chiefs settled in India nearly subverted his power; and Babur deemed it a favourable opportunity to establish himself in a quarter, the conquest of which he had long meditated. He failed, however, in four successive campaigns; but eventually succeeded in his fifth and last attempt, which we shall proceed to detail. Babur's first campaign took place in the year 925.
A. H. 925. A. D. 1519. On that occasion he marched his army as far as the Indus, to where it is called the Neelab; he overran with his troops all the countries on his route, and crossing the river, advaned to Berah in Punjab. In this province he levied a contribution of 400,000 sharookhies on the inhabitants, instead of permitting his troops to plunder. From Berah he deputed one Mowlana Moorshid to Ibrahim Lody, acquainting him, that as the Punjab had been frequently in the possession of the house of Teimoor, it was fit he should relinquish his pretensions to it, and thus prevent the war from being carried farther into India. At this place Babur received accounts of the birth of

a son, while preparing to invade Hind, whom he caused to be called Hindal Mirza. Having appointed Hussun Beg Atka governor of the countries which he had subdued, as far as the Chunab, he marched in person against the Gukkurs, and laid siege to the fort of Birhala. The Gukkurs sallied, but were defeated by Dost Beg Mogul ; and the King in person, cutting off their retreat to the fort, compelled them to fly to the mountains. The fort of Birhala, in which was considerable treasure, fell, without further opposition, to Babur ; in which having left Mahomed Ally, he returned to Kabul.

In the latter end of the same year, Babur returned a second time towards Hindoostan, in order to reduce Lahore. On the route, he defeated the Yoosoofzye Afghans, who endeavoured to oppose his progress. On reaching Pishawur, he caused that fort to be repaired, and proceeded to the Indus. Intelligence was now brought that Sooltan Syeed, the King of Kashghar, was in full march towards Budukhshan, which induced Babur to return. At the same time he left Mahomed Sooltan Mirza, Bin Sooltan Ooveis, Bin Kirany, Bin Munsoor, Bin Oomr Sheikh, Bin Ameer Teimoor,* with 40,000 horse, to prosecute the war in the East. Babur had scarcely reached Kabul, when he learned that the King of Kashghar had retreated. His attention being directed to the Afghans of the tribe of Khizr Kheil, who had made depredations

* See genealogy of the house of Teimoor.

on Kabul during his absence, he entered and sacked their country, and returned to his capital.

A. H. 926. A. D. 1520. In the year 926, Babur marched a third time towards India, attacking the Afghans on his route. On reaching Sealkote the inhabitants submitted, and thus saved their property from plunder : not so the people of Syudpoor, who making a vigorous defence, the garrison was put to the sword, and their families carried into captivity. Babur was here met by intelligence of an army from Kandahar having invaded the territory of Kabul; abandoning, therefore, his projects in India, he returned to his capital, and not only expelled the invaders, but pursued, them, and laid siege to Kandahar. In the mean time he received advice of the death of Khan Mirza, in Budukhshan, in whose stead Babur appointed his son Hoomayoon governor. Shah Beg Arghoon, of Kandahar, maintained the siege with great obstinacy for three years ; but in the year 928 A. H. 928. A. D. 1522. Kandahar fell, as well as all the country of Gurmseer, into Babur's hands. The Prince Kamran Mirza, Babur's second son, was placed in charge of the government. Shah Beg Arghoon being thus compelled to seek safety in flight, retreated with a few of his tribe, and found refuge in the city of Bhukkur, the capital of Sind.

Soon after the occupation of Kandahar, Dowlut Khan Lody, an Indian chief, apprehensive of treachery on the part of Ibrahim Lody, King of Dehly, sent a deputation to wait on A. H. 930. A. D. 1524. Babur at Kabul, offering to place Lahore in his hands. In the year 930, Babur,

having augmented his army, advanced through the territory of the Gukkurs, to within six coss of Lahore, where he was opposed by Behar Khan Lody, Moobarik Khan Lody, and Bhikun Khan Lohany, Indian officers stationed in the Punjab; but they being defeated with great slaughter, Babur entered Lahore in triumph, when he set fire to the bazar, a superstitious practice common among the Moguls. Babur remained only four days in Lahore, before he proceeded against Depalpoor. The garrison having forced him to risk an assault, he put the whole to the sword. Dowlut Khan Lody, who had been expelled from Lahore by the King of Dehly, and had taken protection among the Bulochies,* now joined Babur at Depalpor, together with his three sons. He was favourably received, and being inrolled among the nobles of the court, was appointed governor of Jalendur, Sooltanpoor, and other districts of Punjab.

I have heard from persons of veracity, that this Dowlut Khan Lody† was a lineal descendant of the person of the same name who ascended the throne of Dehly in the year 816 (A.D. 1414.) At this time, Dowlut Khan proposed to Babur to send a force to Dura Ismael Khan, where several hostile Afghan chiefs had collected a force. The King prepared to do so, when Dilawur Khan, the youngest son of Dowlut Khan Lody, acquainted Babur privately that his father and brother only wanted to separate the Mogul troops in order to fall on them. On

* The tribe of Buloch at this time held Mooltan in subjection.

† Vide Vol. I. P. 505.

enquiry, Babur became convinced of the truth of this information, and ordered Dowlut Khan and his son Ghazy Khan into confinement. On crossing the Sutlooj, however, and advancing to Nowshehra, he caused them to be released, and conferred the revenues of Sooltanpoor on them for their subsistence. On reaching Sooltanpoor, these chiefs, collecting their families, fled to the hills; on hearing of which circumstance, Babur conferred on Dilawur Khan the title of Khan Khanan, and gave over into his hands the family estates; but as the desertion of Dowlut Khan greatly affected Babur's interest in Hindoostan, he deemed it inadvisable to prosecute any attempt on Dehly this year. Accordingly he proceeded to Lahore, and made the following arrangements for the government of his newly-acquired provinces:—He appointed Meer Abdool Azeez, governor of Lahore; Khoosrow Gokultash, governor of Sealkote; Baba Kushka, under the orders of Sooltan Alla-ood-Deen, (brother of Ibrahim Lody, King of Dehly), was made governor of Depalpoor; and Mahomed Ally Tajeek, governor of Kulanore; after which Babur returned to Kabul.

During his absence, Dowlut Khan Lody found means to seize his son, Dilawur Khan, who had betrayed him, and put him in chains; he then marched to Depalpoor, and attacked the Prince Alla-ood-Deen Lody, brother of the King Ibrahim Lody, and defeating him, occupied his country. Alla-ood-Deen fled to Kabul, and Baba Kushka, the Mogul general, retreated to Lahore. Dowlut Khan Lody now sent 5000 Afghans to recover

Sealkote; but Meer Abdool Azeez, governor of Lahore, having marched with reinforcements to the assistance of Khoosrow Gokultash, the Afghans were defeated, and Meer Abdool Azeez returned to Lahore.

Meanwhile Ibrahim Lody, King of Dehly, proceeded against Dowlut Khan and his son; but such was the influence of these officers, that they contrived to sow dissensions in the King's camp at Bejwara, and gained over a part of the troops: the remainder were compelled to return to Ibrahim Lody without risking a battle. Alla-ood-Deen Lody, who, having lost Depalpoor, had fled to Kabul, now returned to Lahore, conveying Babur's orders to his officers in those parts to join him with their forces, and to march towards Dehly; and Babur promised that he would support them in person as soon as his affairs in Kabul should permit. Dowlut Khan and Ghazy Khan Lody, hearing of this determination on the part of Babur, wrote to the Mogul chiefs, that they were also prepared to espouse the cause of Alla-ood-Deen, and to aid in raising him to the throne of Dehly. The Moguls, having obtained for Babur the formal cession of all the countries west of Lahore, permitted Alla-ood-Deen to join Dowlut Khan, in order to prosecute his pretensions.

Alla-ood-Deen, with the aid of Dowlut Khan and his son, Ghazy Khan, accordingly marched to Dehly, and invested that city with 40,000 horse. His brother, the King Ibrahim Lody, advanced to oppose him from Agra, where his army was surprised in the night, and dispersed;

but owing to the irregular conduct of the troops of Alla-ood-Deen after the action, they were attacked again by Ibrahim Lody, and defeated. Alla-ood-Deen retreated in great distress to Punjab. At this crisis, Ghazy Khan Lody, finding the affairs of Alla-ood-Deen on the decline, deserted his standard, and having reached Kulanore, reduced it, and encamped at the town of Pursuroor. Here he heard that Babur was again on his return to India. He first of all retreated to Mulwut, from whence, taking the road through the mountains, he had a conference with Ibrahim Lody at Dehly, with whom he remained till that monarch's death. Babur, hearing of the defeat of Alla-ood-Deen Lody, awoke from the dream of indolence and luxury in which he had for some time indulged in Kabul; and, on the 1st of Suffur of the year 932, marched the fifth time towards Hindoostan. He was joined on this occasion by his son Hoomayoon from Budukhshan, and Khwaja Kullan from Ghizny. On the route to Lahore he amused himself by hunting rhinoceroses, with which that country abounded; and thus had an opportunity of putting the personal courage of most of his chiefs to trial. Many of those animals were killed, and some taken alive.

Suffur 1. A. H. 932. Nov. 15. A. D. 1525.

On the 1st of Rubbee-ool-Awul, Babur crossed the Indus, and having mustered his army on the banks of that river, he found it to consist of only 10,000 chosen horse. Proceeding thence across the Behut, he advanced to Sealkote, where he was met by Alla-ood-Deen Lody, as also

Rubbee-ool-Awul 1. A. H. 932. Dec. 15. A. D. 1525.

by Mahomed Ally, governor of Kulanore, and Khwaja Hoossein, collector of the revenues. Dowlut Khan and his son, Ghazy Khan Lody, who considered themselves in the service of the King Ibrahim, were at this time encamped on the banks of the Ravy, near Lahore, with an army of 40,000 men; but on Babur's approach they retreated, Dowlut Khan to the fort of Mulwut, and Ghazy Khan to the hills. Babur having invested Mulwut, it capitulated after a few days; and Dowlut Khan, who had some days before put on two swords, and boasted of the manner in which he would treat Babur, was ordered to appear with those two swords slung round his neck. Notwithstanding his conduct, the King subsequently forgave him, and took him into favour. When the gates of Mulwut were opened, the troops, eager to plunder, rushed in without orders. Babur was provoked at their conduct; and mounting his horse, galloped in among them, and was under the necessity of using violence to prevent outrage. On the spur of the moment he killed by accident an officer of rank, of his son Hoomayoon's retinue, with an arrow; and though he lamented the circumstance, it is certain his presence alone saved the honour of Dowlut Khan's family. Babur preserved, by his exertions on this occasion, a fine library collected by Ghazy Khan, who was a poet, and a man of learning.* On the following day he went in pursuit of Ghazy Khan; when Dilawur

* Those persons who have witnessed the excesses of soldiers rushing to plunder, and the difficulty of restraining them, can alone form an idea of the promptitude and severity which are necessary on such occasions.

Khan, the son of Dowlut Khan, who had been confined by his father and brother, found means to escape, and was honourably received by Babur. Ghazy Khan was subsequently overtaken and defeated; and being followed very closely, was induced to join Ibrahim Lody at Dehly. Dowlut Khan Lody died shortly afterwards.

Babur, being fully satisfied of the dissensions which prevailed among the Afghan chiefs, determined to delay no longer his attack on Dehly; a measure to which he was invited by letters received from time to time from a few of the malecontents at the court of Ibrahim Lody. On reaching the Kuggur, he learned that Humeed Khan, on the part of the governor of Hissar-Feroza, was prepared to oppose him. He accordingly detached his son Hoomayoon, with some of his most experienced officers, to expel the governor, having effected which, Hoomayoon returned to the army. This being the first battle wherein the Prince Hoomayoon commanded, his father was overjoyed at his success, and made over to him the districts of Hissar-Feroza and Jalendur. Two days after, Mullik Bubun Afghan Julwany, one of Ibrahim Lody's officers, deserted his master, and joined Babur's standard with a body of three thousand horse.

Babur arrived within two stages of Shahabad when he received intelligence that Ibrahim Lody had marched out of Dehly, and that Dawood Khan and Hatim Khan, forming his vanguard, were prepared with 27,000 horse to oppose his progress, six or eight miles in advance. Babur accordingly detached Cheen Teimoor Sooltan, Mehdy Khwaja,

Mahomed Sooltan, Mirza Adil, and Sooltan Mirza, with all the troops of the left wing, together with the troops of Jooneid Birlas, and Shah Hussun Birlas to meet the enemy. They encountered Dawood Khan the next morning at sunrise, and, after an obstinate conflict, put his army to flight, Hatim Khan having fallen in the pursuit. The victors took seven elephants, and a number of prisoners, whom they brought into camp; and in order to inspire terror, Babur caused them to be put to death. The main army under Babur, having arrived on the field of battle, encamped there for six days, during which he ordered his park of artillery to be linked together with leathern ropes made of raw hides, according to the practice of the armies of Asia Minor.

Ibrahim Lody's army consisted of 100,000 horse, and 100 elephants; and although that of Babur did not exceed 12,000 men, he made an attempt with 5000 horse to surprise the Indian camp by night; but finding the enemy on the alert, the enterprise failed. This circumstance encouraged Ibrahim Lody to bring on a general action, and he accordingly marched next morning to Paniput. Babur at the same time also advanced to within twelve miles of Ibrahim Lody's encampment. On the day after, being the 10th of Rujub, the two armies came in sight of each other. Babur divided his troops into two lines, composed of four divisions, with a reserve in the rear of each, and a few light horse to skirmish in front. In the first division on the right, commanded by Prince Hoomayoon, were Khwaja Kullan, Sooltan Mahomed

Rujub 10. A. H. 932. April 20. A. D. 1526.

Doldy, Hindoo Beg, Wully Beg Khazin, and Peer Kooly Seestany. In the division on the left, commanded by Mahomed Sooltan Mirza, were Mehdy Khwaja, Ghazy Sooltan, Jooneid Birlas, and Shah Hoossein Birlas. The right of the second line was commanded by Cheen Teimoor Sooltan and Mirza Mahomed Gokultash; the left by Ameer Khuleefa, Khoosrow Gokultash, and Mahomed Ally. The light troops thrown out in advance were under Sooltan Mirza, the son of Khan Mirza. Abdool Azeez (Meer Akhoor) commanded the reserve of the right wing, and Wully Kurrawul the reserve of the left. Besides these, was the grand reserve in the rear of both lines, the right of which was commanded by Kasim Beg, and the left by Ally Bahadur. Babur, after having personally given orders to his generals, and marshalled the troops, took post in the centre of the first line. Ibrahim Lody drew up his forces in one solid mass, and, according to the practice of the Indians, ordered his cavalry to charge. This attack the Mogul army received so steadily, that the Indians began to slacken their pace long before they reached the enemy's line. Those divisions which advanced were repulsed; but when they attempted to retreat, they found themselves surrounded; for the two corps in reserve in rear of the Mogul line being ordered to wheel round their flanks, met in the centre, and fell upon the rear of those who had advanced, by which means the Afghans were almost all cut to pieces: 5000 men fell around the person of Ibrahim, who was found among the slain. According to the most correct accounts, 16,000 Afghans were slain

in this action, though some authors have computted the number at 50,000.

Babur did not fail to make the best use of his victory. Immediately after the battle, he detached the Prince Hoomayoon, and three of his best generals, to Agra, to occupy it before the Indians could have time either to recover from their defeat or to remove their wealth. He also deputed Mahomed Sooltan Mirza, and three other generals, to march rapidly, on Dehly, to take possession of that city, while he himself came up in the rear, and arrived on the 12th of Rujub. The Khootba was read in Babur's named by Sheikh Zein-ood-Deen of Dehly, and, after surveying the city and visiting the tombs of the saints and heroes, he proceeded to Agra, where he arrived on the 22d of the same month. He immediately invested the fort, still in possession of the late government, which had for its garrison the troops of Vikramajeet, the raja of Gualiar, who had been killed in the late action. So great, however, was the terror inspired by the Moguls, that the Rajpoots proposed to capitulate ; and in lieu of any other ransom for the private property of individuals, Babur was content to receive a diamond, weighing eight miskals, or 224 rutties.* This diamond was formerly the property

Rujub 12. April 22.

Rujub 22. May 2.

* According to this statement, the diamond in question would weigh 672 carats. The finest diamonds in the world have been brought fron India ; but they are never cut to European taste, weight being more considered than symmetry.

Aurungzeeb's diamond, presented to him by Meer Joomla, weighed - - - 900 carats.

of Sooltan Alla-ood-Deen Khiljy of Malwa, and Babur on this occasion presented it to his son Hoomayoon. Thus, on the fifth day after his arrival, Babur was in possession of Agra, wherein he found the mother of Ibrahim Lody : she was treated with becoming respect, and permitted to retain all her wealth.

"The conquest of Hindoostan (observes Babur in his Commentaries) has been achieved by three persons since the commencement of the Mahomedan era. In the first instance, by Sooltan Mahmood of Ghizny, whose descendants ruled over India ; on the second occasion, by Sooltan Mahomed Ghoory and his officers, who also long reigned over the same country ; and the third time, by myself : but my success does not bear any close resemblance to those of the conquerors I have named ; since, when Sooltan Mahmood Ghiznevy entered India, he was the undisputed sovereign of Mavur-ool-Nehr, Khwaruzm, and Khorassan ; and if his army did not amount to 200,000 men, they exceeded 100,000 soldiers. At that time, also, no one king ruled over the country, which was divided among numerous petty rajas. In the case of Sooltan Mahomed Ghoory,

The Emperor of Russia's diamond, being the eye of an idol at Seringham, weighs ... ... 779 curats.
The Great Mogul's diamond weighs 279
The Pitt diamond, cut, weighs only 137
but it is deemed the finest jewel of the kind in the world.
The Nassuck diamond, which was discovered among the Peshwa's treasures, dug up by the Translator of this work, only weighs about 89

The diamond mines of Golconda, Rawulconda, and Punna have long been neglected; and the demand for the jewel is so limited, that on very fine diamonds have of late years become known.

although himself not a sovereign prince, yet his brother was king of Khorassan, and his troops did not amount to less than 120,000 men, with which army he subdued the country of India, then subdivided among numerous petty princes. When I first made the attempt on India, I had only 15,000 men with me, and eventually accomplished the conquest with 12,000 men. I was the ruler of Budukhshan, Kabul, and Kandahar; but I did not receive half the revenues of those territories, part of which absorbed a great portion of the resources in preserving it from foreign attacks. The Afghan government extended from Birah to Behar, and it could bring into the field an army of 500,000 soldiers; and that of Ibrahim Lody even, on the day of the battle, amounted to 100,000 horse, besides 1000 war elephants. Notwithstanding these circumstances, and the fact of the Oozbuks being at war with me in my rear, I ventured to attack such an enemy as Ibrahim, and having reaped the reward of my labours, I conquered Hindoostan. I do not ascribe this success to my own exertions merely; I refer it to the favour of the Almighty, who was pleased to aid me in my humble efforts."

Rujub 29. A.H. 932. May 9. A.D. 1526. On the 29th of Rujub, having gone into the public treasury of the King of India, Babur presented his son Hoomayoon with 350,000 rupees, and to his cousin Mahomed Sooltan Mirza he gave four handsome shields, and 200,000 rupees in money, added to which, he conferred costly presents on all his chiefs, and even to the merchants who followed his camp. Besides what was

distributed in camp, a great part of the treasure was sent to Kabul, to be divided among his subjects, which yielded to each a silver sharokh. This division was independent of the large sums he sent to Samarkand, Khorassan, Kasghar, Erak, Mecca, Medina, Kurbula, Nujuf, Mushud, and other holy places, in charity. Such generosity, bordering on prodigality, procured for Babur the name of Kullundur, whose practice it is to keep nothing for to-morrow.

The Afghans, apprehensive of a Mogul government, and bearing a natural aversion to that race, still refused to submit. They appeared in arms in every quarter, strengthening their forts, and refusing submission in their different provinces. Kasim Khan in Sumbhul; Ally Khan Firmully in Mewat; Zeitoon Khan in Dholpoor; Tartar Khan in Gualiar; Hossein Khan Lohany in Rabery; Kootub Khan in Etawa; Alum Khan in Kalpy; Nizam Khan in Byana; and Nasir Khan Lohany and Maroof Khan Firmully on the east bank of the Ganges. All these chiefs refused to acknowledge Babur's authority, and uniting for mutual support, they elected Behar Khan, the son of Duria Khan Lody, their king, with the title of Sooltan Mahomed, and forming a junction at Kunowj, advanced towards Agra. At this time also, Bubun Khan Julwany, the Afghan chief, who had joined Babur, deserted with all his adherents, and the very inhabitants of the country around Agra cut off the Mogul foraging parties, and rendered it difficult to support the cavalry, or to supply the troops with provisions. Add to

these circumstances was the intolerable heat of the weather, from which many of the Moguls, unaccustomed to the climate, died.

In this situation of affairs, Babur was strongly urged by Khwaja Kullan and other chiefs to return to Kabul; but he replied, "That a kingdom "which had cost him so much pains in taking, "should not be wrested from him but by death." He immediately issued an order, stating his determination to remain in India, permitting, at the same time, those persons who were desirous of returning to Kabul, and who preferred safety to glory, to retire; retaining with him only such soldiers whose valour would reflect honour on themselves, and their king and country. This order had the desired effect: all murmurs ceased; and the officers, one and all, swore never to forsake him, with the exception only of Khwaja Kullan, whose reputation being already well established, he was permitted to withdraw for the sake of his health, and was appointed governor of Kabul and Ghizny, on account of the services he had rendered. It being now known publicly, that Babur had determined not to quit Hindoostan, as his ancestor Teimoor had done before, several officers of the late government began to come over to him, such as Sheikh G'hoorun, with 3000 horse from Dooab, and Ally Khan Mewatty from Mewat. The last chief was induced to adopt this step in order to procure the release of his sons who had been taken in the battle. Lastly were Feroze Khan, and Sheikh Bayezeed Firmully.

At the same time also, Kasim Khan of

Sumbhul, being besieged by the Afghans, invited Babur to receive him under his protection. The King accordingly deputed Mirza Mahomed Gokultash to his aid: the confederate troops were defeated, and Kasim Khan placed Sumbhul in possession of the Moguls. Measures were now taken to attack the confederated army, and the Prince Hoomayoon, with the greatest part of the Mogul troops, was detached against the Afghans, whose forces amounted to fifty thousand horse. On the Prince's approach, the Afghans retreated to Joonpoor, and Futteh Khan, the late Kings' minister, joined Hoomayoon. Futteh Khan was sent to Babur at Agra, and became the means of inducing several other Afghan chiefs to submit.

Nizam Khan, governor of Byana, though pressed hardly by Rana Sanka, who was endeavouring to become master of that province, still refused to submit to Babur. Baba Koolly Sooltan marched against him with a force, but was unfortunately defeated. Rana Sanka, soon after, having reduced Nizam Khan of Byana to great extremities, that chief sent a deputation to Babur, requesting his aid, for which he was ready to pay him due homage. The King did not hesitate to accept his allegiance, and sending a force to expel Rana Sanka, Nizam Khan was confirmed in possession of Byana, which was settled upon him, with all its dependencies, in consideration of his paying an annual tribute of twenty lacks of rupees.

Tartar Khan, a descendant of Sarung Khan, was now in possession of the fort of Gualiar; but

being besieged by the Raja of that country, he solicited the aid of Babur. The detachment of troops sent by Babur defeated the Raja; but Tartar Khan, repenting of his promise of submission, delayed to put the Mogul troops in possession. In the fort was one Sheikh Mahomed Ghows, a learned man, who had a number of students under him, and who wrote to the Mogul general to endeavour to introduce himself singly into the fort, promising that he would then find means of accomplishing his object. For this purpose, the Mogul general stated to Tartar Khan, that the enemy being all around, it was desirable to bring his troops under protection of the fort, for fear of a surprise, and requested that he might be permitted to pay a visit to the learned man in the fort. This being acceded to, the Mogul was admitted without suspicion. During his visit, he sent word to the governor from time to time, requesting permission for such and such officers to be admitted also, till at length Tartar Khan desired the officer of the guard to use his own discretion in admitting whom he chose. The officer of the guard, a disciple of the philosopher, and who was privy to the plot, availed himself of this order to permit every body the Moguls wished to pass in, till at length all the chosen men of the detachment were within the garrison before the entertainment was ended. Tartar Khan was called on to give up the place, and threatened with instant death in case of refusal; and he, making a virtue of necessity, replied, that had he not intended doing so, he should not have permitted its occupation without

resistance. Tartar Khan proceeded in person to Agra, and entered into the service of Babur. Zeitoon Khan also, having surrendered Dholpoor, was placed in command of a body of troops, having previously sworn allegiance to Babur. Not long after these transactions, Humeed Khan, Sarung Khan, and other Afghans, created an insurrection in Hissar Feroza; but the sudden arrival of Cheen Teimoor Sooltan against them soon put an end to all opposition.

A.H. 983.
A.D. 1575.

In the year 983, Khwaja Asud, who had gone as ambassador from Kabul, to congratulate Shah Tamasp, King of Persia, on his accession, returned to court, accompanied by Sooliman Khan Toorkoman. This officer brought with him, among other presents, two Circassian maids, of whom the King became greatly enamoured. At this time, the mother of Ibrahim Lody, who had hitherto been treated with much kindness, formed a design to poison Babur, and seduced the King's taster and cook to effect her object by putting poison into some hare soup: the King, after eating a few spoonsful, nauseated the food, and immediately vomited, which saved his life. After proper enquiry, both the taster and the cook avowed their share in the transaction; and in order to ascertain the truth, a dog was brought, who having eaten of the soup, was seized with convulsions, and died. Two of the under cooks were also made to partake of the broth, and their lives were saved only by the greatest precautions: on this, the taster and

head cook, with several of their assistants, were put to the torture. The whole plot was revealed, and the mother of Ibrahim, being cast into prison, all her wealth was confiscated. One of Ibrahim Lody's sons, too, was sent at the same time to Kabul, which left Babur without any further apprehensions from that family. The Prince Hoomayoon having defeated the Afghans at Joonpoor, left Sooltan Jooneid Birlass in that quarter, and on returning to Agra, induced Alum Khan, governor of Kalpy, to submit, and to accompany him to court, where he was received with due honours.

The King was at this time suddenly roused by information that Rana Sanka, Hussun Khan Mewatty, Rawul Dew Raja of Bagur, and Medny Ray Raja of Chundery, espousing the cause of Mahmood, a son of the late King Sikundur Lody, had collected a force of a hundred thousand horse, in order to re-establish the Afghan dynasty. Babur, having little dependence on the Indian chiefs who had joined him, detached them to defend different provinces, and with his own Moguls hastened to meet the enemy: his vanguard falling in with theirs in the neighbourhood of Byana, after a sharp conflict, was repulsed by the Afghans, with great loss, which struck unusual terror into the King's small army. Kasim Khan, deserting Babur, repaired to Sumbhul; and every day brought disagreeable intelligence from all quarters: nor did the predictions of one Mahomed Shureef, an astrologer, tend to remove the general consternation. This man asserted that the planet Mars was to be seen every evening in the west, and consequently

that whoever marched in that direction would be overthrown. Babur, perceiving this rumour affected the minds of his troops, called a council of war, in which most of his officers gave it as their opinion, that, owing to the superior numbers of the enemy, it was advisable, after leaving a strong garrison in Agra, to retreat for the present to Punjab. Babur, after some reflection, asked the chiefs, "What will "all the Mahomedan kings in the world say of "a monarch, whom the fear of death obliged to "abandon such a kingdom? It is more consistent "with true heroism to reconcile ourselves to "martyrdom, and to exert ourselves with all our "hearts; for," said he, "as it is certain the soul "must of necessity quit the body, it is fit that it "should do so with honour; for the whole object of "a man's life should be, that when he dies he may "leave behind him a spotless name." The whole assembly, as if inspired with one soul, cried out, "War! war!" The King, who had been formerly much addicted to wine, made a vow publicly to drink on more, should he prove victorious in this campaign; and orders were accordingly issued to prohibit its sale in the camp, not more, perhaps, from adherence to his oath, than to keep the soldiers cool for action.

Jumad-ool-Akhir 9. A.H. 933. March 21. A.D. 1526.

On Tuesday the 9th of Jumad-ool-Akhir of the year 933, which happened to be the vernal equinox, Babur formed his line of battle, according to the custom of Roôm (Asia Minor), with his carriages and artillery in his front: in that order he moved towards the enemy, who lay at the

distance of six miles. After proceeding two miles he halted, and encamped. Several young warriors, fond of distinguishing themselves, issued out under the command of Mullick Hossein, Mahomed Kassim, and Baba Kushka Mogul, to skirmish with the enemy's light troops and piquets, among whom they did considerable execution. On the next day, being the third of the month, the King having proceeded two miles further, marked out his camp at the village of Kanwa,* in the neighbourhood of Byana; but his tents were scarcely pitched, when he perceived the enemy approaching. He marshalled his line, in the manner which he had for some days before practised, and in a few minutes he was forced to receive the shock of the enemy. The army was chiefly drawn up by Nizam-ood-Deen Ally, whom Babur considered his ablest general: and this order of battle being on account of circumstances different from the former, we shall describe it in detail.

The line, which upon this occasion was single, was divided; the King, at the head of the life-guards, took post in front of his park of artillery, and commanded in person.

In the right wing were Cheen Teimoor Sooltan, Sooliman Shah, Khwaja Dost Khazin, Yoonoos Ally Beg, Shah Munsoor Birlass, Dervish Mahomed Sar, Abdoolla Kitabdar, and Dost Beg Aka, with their several squadrons.

In the left wing were the Prince Alum Khan (a son of Bheilole Lody), Sheikh Zein Sudr, Mohib Ally, Tardy Beg, Sheer-Afkun Khan, Arayish Khan, Khwaja Hoossein Dewan, besides other

*This village lies on the Bangunga river, four miles south of Bhurtpoor.

chiefs, who occupied each a particular post assigned to him.

The advanced guard was under the personal command of the prince Hoomayoon, his right being composed of the troops of Kasim Hoossein Sooltan, Ahmud Yoosoof, Hindoo Beg Kocheen, Khoosrow Gokultush, Mullik Kasim, Baba Kushka Mogul, Kuwam Beg, the son of Shah Wully Khazin, Mirza Kumur Ally, Peer Koolly Seestany, Khwaja Pheilwan Budukshy, Abdool Shukoor, and Sooliman Aka, the ambassador to Erak, and Hoossein Aka, the envoy to Seestan. The left was composed of the troops under Meer Shah Mahomed Gokultash, Khwajgy Assud, Khan Khanan* (the son of Dowlut Khan Lody), Mullik Dawood Kirany, and Sheik G'hoorun, each occupying their respective posts.

The reserve was intrusted to Syeed Khwaja, on whose right and left the following chiefs took post; viz. Mahomed Sooltan Mirza, Adil Sooltan, Abdool Azeez (Meer Akhoor), Mahomed Ally Jeng Jeng, Kootloogh Khan, Ameer Khan Mogul, Jany Beg Atka, Julal Khan, and Kumal Khan (the sons of the prince Alla-ood-Deen Lody), Ally Khan Firmully, and Nizam Khan, of Byana.

Besides these, was a separate rear-guard under the command of Tardy Beg Atka, under whom was Roostoom Khan Toorkoman, and his corps of Noweenans or Nooyans.†

* This is the same person denominated Dilawur Khan Khan Khanan.

† The Nooyans are a Tartar tribe; but I am not sure whether they are Toorks or Moguls.

The Bukhshy * of the camp, Sooltan Mahomed, together with numerous Yesawuls † and attendants to convey orders, attended the person of the King.

About ten o'clock in the forenoon the action commenced. The left of the enemy charging the right of the Moguls, engaged hand to hand with the troops of Gokultash Khan, and made them give ground; but Cheen Teimoor Sooltan, receiving orders to support them, turned the scale in favour of Babur. According to the practice of the Choghtays, ‡ the wings wheeled up on each flank, and the reserve supported those engaged, wherever assistance was required; while from the centre the artillery under the command of Oostad Ally Kooly Roomy, hurled destruction on all sides.

The enemy fought with desperate valour till Babur, perceiving a favourable opportunity, charged with his personal guards, like a lion rushing from his lair, and after an obstinate conflict compelled the Indians to give way. Hussun Khan Mewatty, whose family had been distinguished for nearly 200 years, was killed by a musket ball; Rawul Dew Raja of Bagur, Chundur Bhan, Manuk Chund Chowhan, and Kurn Sing Rajpoot, each powerful princes of the enemy, were numbered among the slain; while Rana Sanka escaped with the utmost difficulty from the field of battle. The King, immediately after the victory, assumed the

* Bukhshy, chief of the staff.

† Yesawul, aid-de-camp.

‡ The race of Chungiz Khan.

title of Ghazy, and, in order to perpetuate the commemoration of the victory, ordered a pyramid, composed of the heads of the slain, to be raised on an eminence near the field. To the astrologer Mahomed Shureef (after being severely reprimanded for his false prediction) he presented a lack of rupees, but compelled him to quit the Kingdom.

From hence Babur marched towards Mewat, where Nahir Khan, the son of Hussun Khan Mewatty, seeing no other means of safety, submitted. The government of Mewat was conferred upon Cheen Teimoor Sooltan and his tribe. After which, Babur returned to Agra, and detached his son the Prince Hoomayoon to Kabul, with orders to add Bulkh to that province. Mahomed Ally Sootlan and Tardy Beg were also ordered to proceed against Hoossein Khan and Duria Khan, Afghans, who still kept possession of Chundwara and Rabery. On the approach of the Moguls, the Afghans flying, Hoossein Khan was drowned in crossing the Jumna, but Duria Khan escaped. Mahomed Sooltan Mirza, the King's cousin, was also detached at the same time to Kunowj, against Bubun Khan Afghan, who fled from thence to Khyrabad.

Zeehuj 29. A. H. 934. Sept. 12. A. D. 1528.

On the 29th of Zeehuj, in the year 934, the King marched by the route of Kole to Sumbhul, and having diverted himself with the amusement of the chase, returned to his capital, where he was for a time ill of a fever; but having recovered, he proceeded towards Chundery, then occupied by Medny Ray with a strong garrison of Rajpoots. The place

being invested, the Rajpoots sallied out on the second day, and attacked the King; but they paid dear for their rashness, and lost six thousand men. Those who returned after this defeat into the fort, seeing no hopes of defending it, murdered their wives and children, according to custom. Among those who lost their lives on this occasion, was Medny Ray himself. The empty fort thus fell into the hands of the Moguls, and Babur did not fail to rebuild and repair those mosques in Chundery, Sarungpoor, Runtunbhore, and Raisein, which had been partly destroyed and otherwise injured by being converted into cattle-sheds, by Medny Ray's orders. He also restored those countries to their legitimate sovereign, Sooltan Ahmud, the son of Sooltan Mahomed, and grandson of Sooltan Nasir-ood-Deen Khiljy, King of Malwa.

Advices were about this time received, that a body of troops which had been sent against the Afghan chiefs had unnecessarily brought on an action, and were defeated. The King, therefore, marched in person towards Kunowj, and met his defeated troops at Rabery. Having reached the Ganges, he collected thirty or forty boats, and threw a bridge over it, so that Cheen Teimoor Sooltan commenced crossing that night. The enemy on the opposite bank, after a faint resistance, gave way, and Cheen Teimoor Sooltan, pursuing them, took part of their baggage, and a number of their families and followers were made prisoners.

The King after this victory hunted for a few days along the banks of the Ganges, and then returned to Agra. He appointed Mahomed Zuman

Mirza, the son of Budee-ooz-Zuman Mirza (who had lately been expelled from Bulkh), governor of Agra.

Mohurrum 5. A.H. 935. Sept. 19. A.D. 1528. On the 5th of Mohurrum, in the year 935, Babur commenced a tour through his new kingdom. He first took the route of Gualiar, and viewed there the fortifications, the stone-elephant, and the palace of Raja Man Sing. He then visited the gardens of Raheem Dad, and having admired some extremely fine scarlet oleander flowers, he ordered a few of the plants to be conveyed to Agra. The usual colour of this plant resembles that of the peach-blossom; but the scarlet oleander is rarely to be met with. During his stay, he went in state to the great mosque built by the Emperor Altmish, for whose soul he ordered prayers to be read, and he returned by another route to Agra.

In the Wakaya Babury the King writes, "On
Suffur 23. A.H. 935. Nov. 7. A.D. 1530. "the 23d of Suffur of this year I was "taken unwell, and with difficulty was "able to remain in the musjid during "prayers on Friday. On Sunday, I "had a good deal of fever. It was on this occasion "I commenced to transpose into poetry the work of "Khwaja Abdool Ahrar; and it occurred to me, if "I succeeded so as to please that holy man, I might "through his intercession get over my disease; "and so in the end it turned out, for I shortly "after lost all the symptoms I had of epilepsy, "and completely recovered. The metre is that "of the Remul Moosudus Mujnoon, the same in

"which Mowlana Jamy has written his poem en-
"titled Saboosha. At this period of my life I
"used to have frequent attacks of fever, from which
"I seldom recovered under a month or six weeks.
"On the present occasion I obtained relief on the
"8th of Rubbee-ool-Awul." Babur says he offered up public thanks to God for the restoration of his health, and made a great feast upon the occasion. He distributed magnificent presents among his nobles and foreign ambassadors, and bestowed large sums to gladden the hearts of the poor. During this festival, Khoond-Emir, the author of the Hubeeb-oos-Seer, Mowlana Shuhab-ood-Deen, entitled the punster, and Mirza Ibrahim Kanoony, who came from Hirat, and were esteemed the most eminent literary men of the age, were introduced to the King. They were loaded with presents, and directed to remain in future about his person.

Rubbee-ool-Awul 8. Nov. 20.

In this year, Askurry Mirza, who governed Mooltan, was ordered to court, just at the time he was making preparations to attack Noosrut Shah. Boorhan Nizam Shah-Bheiry, Prince of Ahmudnuggur, also at this time sent an ambassador to congratulate Babur on his good fortune, and proffered allegiance. Towards the close of the year, the King received advices, that the Prince Mahmood, the son of the late King Sikundur Lody, had obtained possession of the province of Behar, and also that the Bullochies in Mooltan had raised the standard of revolt. The King deferred any operations against Mooltan for the present, but marched in person towards Behar. On reaching

Kurra, Julal-ood-Deen Noosrut Shah Shurky, the ex-king of Joonpoor, prepared a royal entertainment for him, and was honoured with an audience. Mahomed Zuman Mirza was detached from Kurra to Behar, from whence he expelled the Prince Mahmood Lody; but in a few months after, the Afghans of Behar, collecting troops, advanced again towards the Ganges. The King, on this occasion, detached Askurry Mirza with a division to oppose them at the Budry ford, and himself followed next day with the rest of the army. On reaching the banks of the river, he was preparing boats to cross, when Cheen Teimoor Sooltan, who had already gained the opposite bank with only eighty horse, attacked without hesitation. Askurry Mirza, who had crossed at another place, also appearing fortunately in the enemy's rear, threw them into confusion, and they fled. Noosrut Shah now joined the King, and promised to aid in the expulsion of the Afghans; and Babur, having given orders to Sooltan Jooneid Birlass to prosecute the war in conjunction with Noosrut Shah, returned to Agra.

The Prince Hoomayoon having left his brother, Hindal Mirza, to govern in his absence, returned about this time from Kabul to visit his father, and Sooltan Syeed, ruler of Uzkund, taking advantage of this circumstance, invaded Budukhshan. Mirza Heidur Doghlat was sent on in advance. On the approach of the enemy, Hindal Mirza retreated into the fort of Budukhshan, and was besieged therein; but Sooltan Syeed Khan finding

he could not reduce the place, and that the inhabitants were not disposed to join him, ravaged the country and returned home. The news of the retreat of Sooltan Syeed not having reached Agra, the government of Budukhshan was conferred on Sooliman Mirza, the son of Khan Mirza, who marched immediately for that province, with a letter from the King to Sooltan Syeed, expressing his surprise at the late hostilities, for which he was unable to account, but by supposing some misconduct on the part of his son Hindal Mirza: the King stated, therefore, that he had sent another person, who was allied to them both, to supply his place. Sooliman Mirza found the country in perfect tranquillity on his arrival, and took quiet possession of the government, which his family have kept to this day, an account of which it is my intention to write at some future period.* The Prince Hindal Mirza now came to Agra.

Rujub, A.H. 936. March, A.D. 1530.

During the year 936, in the month of Rujub, Babur fell sick; and his disorder daily gaining ground, in spite of the power, of medicine, he recalled his son, Prince Hoomayoon, who was then besieging the fort of Kalunjur, and appointed him his successor.

Jumad-ool-Awul 5. A.H. 937. Dec. 24. A.D. 1530.

On Monday, the 5th of Jumad-ool-Awul, in the year 937, Babur Padshah died. According to his will, his body was carried to Kabul, and interred in a

* Ferishta, probably, did not live to finish his history of Khan Mirza's family, as no such work has ever been found.

sepulchre at that city. The date of his death is comprised in the words.

بهشت روزي اش باد

"May heaven be his lot."

This monarch ascended the throne at twelve years of age, and reigned thirty-eight years. He was a prince of great humanity, and carried his liberality to such excess, that it bordered on prodigality. With respect to the first, he so often pardoned ingratitude and treason, that he seemed to make a principle of rendering good for evil: he thus disarmed malice, and made his enemies the admirers of his virtues. He was learned in the doctrines of the sect of Huneef, and never omitted his daily prayers. He had few equals in the arts of poetry, prose composition, and music. He wrote his own life in the Toorky language, with such elegance and truth, that the performance is universally admired. It was translated, in the reign of his grandson Akbur, by Mirza Khan Khan Khanan, into Persian, which is the same work that is usually read by persons in India of the present age. In his person, Babur was handsome, his address was engaging and unaffected, his countenance pleasing, and his disposition affable.

The following instance of his justice is worthy of being recorded in history :—

When he was Prince of Furghana, the owner of a valuable caravan * of Khutta, who was

* A cargo of merchandise conveyed by land is termed a caravan : the houses to put up at on the road, caravanseras.

crossing the mountains of Indijan, was killed by lightning. Babur ordered all the goods to be collected, and sent messengers to Khutta to proclaim the accident, and bring the owner's heirs to his court. Upon their arrival, at the end of two years, he entertained them hospitably, and returned them the whole of their property, not only refusing to accept a present, but even to be reimbursed for the expences incurred in securing it.

Notwithstanding his warlike pursuits, Babur was much addicted to wine and women, and the usual pleasures of courts. On occasions when he was inclined to make merry, he used to fill a reservoir in a garden, in the neighbourhood of Kabul, with wine, upon which was inscribed a verse to this purpose :—

"Give me but wine, and blooming maids,
"All other joys I freely spurn :
"Enjoy them, Babur, while you may—
"For youth once past will ne'er return."

Whenever he marched, he always caused the road to be measured after him, a custom which prevails among the emperors of Hindoostan to this day; and the statute he made, concerning the measurement of distances, has hitherto remained in force. He fixed one hundred tunabs for one kroh, each tunab being forty guz, each guz being nine moosht or hands.* The guz Sikundry, or yard of Sikundur, which prevailed when he

* Each hand being four inches, make 4000 yards to a coss, rather more than two and a quarter English miles.

reached India, was superseded by that of the Babury guz, which continued in use till the beginning of the reign of Jehangeer Padshah. Since the empire of India is now governed by the descendants of this illustrious Prince, it seems proper to refer to the genealogy of his race. Be it known then that Chungiz Khan, the son of Byooka Bahadur, the son of Purtan, had four sons, who all became kings, and the fathers of nations, in the time of Chungiz. These princes adopted the institutes of Chungiz, which in the Toorky language are denominated Toozuk. The names of Chungiz's sons were Oktay, Choghtay, Joojy, and Tooly. Though Oktay was not the eldest son, yet he was appointed his successor, and ruled over the extensive empire of Northern Asia, in the city of Kurra Koorum, or Kuloran, the original capital of his father's dominions. Oktay died, from excess of wine, in the year 639.

Choghtay Khan, who, according to my own belief, was the second son of Chungiz Khan, possessed the kingdoms of Mavur-ool-Nehr, Toorkistan, Bulkh, and Budukhshan, in subordination to his brother Oktay. Kurrachar Nooyan, who is the fifth ancestor of Teimoor, was appointed by Chungiz Khan Ameer-ool-Oomra of Choghtay Khan. Choghtay was so devoted to the sports of the chase, that neglecting the affairs of his government, he intrusted them to the management of Kurrachar Nooyan, who promoted the interests of the tribe of Choghtay, and confirmed its power.

Joojy Khan, one of the younger sons of Chungiz Khan, became ruler over the following tracts

of territory, conferred on him by his father: viz. Dusht Kupchak, Khwaruzm, Khizr, Bulgaria, Lokmeen, Alan, Ass, Russia, and those parts lying to the north, Although children of the same father and mother, yet a spirit of hostility existed between the three brothers, Choghtay, Oktay, and Joojy Khan. Their mother was Boorga Kocheen, the daughter of Kysur. Joojy Khan died in 624, After seven generations, Oozbuk Khan, one of his descendants, ruled over Dusht-Kupchak. He was a Mahomedan, and a prince of virtuous disposition. The Oozbuks are generally of opinion, that he was the first prince who introduced the Mahomedan faith among his subjects.

Tooly Khan, the youngest, was the favourite son of Chungiz Khan. He contrived to maintain friendly relations with his elder brothers, and was eventually slain in battle during the invasion made into the kingdom of Khutta, in the year 628. One of his sons, Keela Khan, who became ruler of Khutta, laid the foundation of the city of Khan Baligh, and brought a large canal from the sea of *Olives* * (*Duria Zeitoon*), whose ports belong to *India*, into Khan Baligh, a distance of 40 days' journey. The other son of Tooly Khan is Hulakoo Khan, who made himself master of Persia. Having related thus much of the descendants of Chungiz Khan, I shall proceed to state the pedigree of Teimoor Korkan, as descended from Kurrachar Nooyan.

* Though I have not ventured to alter the original, I would read the sea of Koolzoom (Caspian), and Persia for India.

Ameer Teimoor, the son of Ameer Tooraghay, the son of Birkul, the son of Ameer Alingiz Bahadur, the son of Anchul Nooyan, the son of Kurrachar Nooyan, the son of Somchuk, the son of Eroee Birlass, the son of Kajooly Bahadur, the son of Toomnay Khan, the son of Baisanghar Khan, the son of Keeto Khan, the son of Kasin, the son of Bookay, the son of Boozunjur, the son of Alankoo, a descendant from a daughter of Beiram Joorjeea, who is descended from a daughter of Yeldooz Khan, of the tribe of Birlas. The pedigree of Chungiz Khan is also deducible from Boozunjur. Ameer Teimoor had four sons :

1st, Jehangeer Mirza, who died during his father's lifetime, in Samarkand.

2d, Sharokh Mirza, ruler of Hirat.

3d, Oomr Sheikh Mirza, ruler of Indijan.

4th, Meeran Shah Mirza, ruler of Persia, and successor to the kingdom of Hoolakoo Khan. Accordingly those four princes, having obtained the government of four kingdoms, reigned for many years therein. Of these, the descendants of the fourth empire obtained by Meeran Shah still exercise sovereign sway, and the heir of that house sends governors to the following countries : viz. Hindoostan, Kabul, Ghizny, Kandahar, Ghoor, and Bamyan.

HOOMAYOON PADSHAH.

(HIS FIRST REIGN.)

Hoomayoon ascends the throne—his brother Kamran, governor of Kabul, disputes his right to supremacy.—The government of Sumbhul is conferred on his brother Askurry, and that of Mewat on his brother Hindal.—Mahomed Zuman Mirza goes into rebellion, and is protected by Bahadur Shah of Guzerat, who also affords aid to Alla-ood-Deen Lody, a pretender to the throne.—War with Bahadur Shah.—Guzerat occupied by Hoomayoon, and the government conferred on Askurry Mirza—Bahadur Shah expels Askurry—recovers his kingdom.—Sheer Khan Soor attacks the Mogul officers in the Dooab, and to the east of the Ganges—Mahomed Sooltan Mirza in arms at Kunowj.—War with Sheer Khan in Bengal.—Hindal proclaims himself king in Agra, and proceeds to besiege Dehly—Kamran seizes on Lahore, and marches to Dehly.—Kamran and Hindal unite at Dehly—they march to Agra.—Hoomayoon returns from Bengal—becomes reconciled to his brothers—they unite against the power of Sheer Khan, who assumes the title of Shah.—The Moguls defeated, and expelled from India.—Hoomayoon, and his brothers, fly to Lahore, and eventually to Sind.—Hoomayoon's adventures—is deserted by his brothers, who establish themselves in Kabul.—Hoomayoon retires to Kabul—his narrow escape, and flight to Persia—his infant son Akbur falls a prisoner into the hands of his uncle Kamran.

HOOMAYOON was a prince as remarkable for his wit as for the urbanity of his manners; and, for the most part, disposed to spend his time in social intercourse and pleasure. He devoted himself, however, to the sciences of astronomy and

geography; and not only wrote dissertations on the nature of the elements, but had terrestrial and celestial globes constructed for his use. He also caused seven halls of audience to be built, in which he received persons according to their rank. The first, called the Palace of the Moon, was set apart for ambassadors, messengers, and travellers. In the second, called the Palace of *Ootarid*,* civil officers, and persons of that description, were received; and there were five other palaces for the remaining five planets. In each of these buildings he gave public audience, according to the planet of the day. The furniture and paintings of each, as also the dresses of the household attendants, bore some symbol emblematical of the planet. In each of these palaces he transacted business one day in the week.† He had scarcely ascended the throne when his brother, Kamran Mirza, formed a design of rendering himself master of Punjab; but, in order to conceal his real intentions, he gave out, that he was proceeding from Kabul to Hindoostan, to congratulate Hoomayoon on his accession. The King, although aware of Kamran Mirza's design, from the conduct he pursued in those countries through which he

* Venus.

† The practice of devoting each day of the week to the palace called after it is certainly novel; but that of giving the names of the planets to such buildings is, probably, of great antiquity. Among the Hindoos, cities are usually subdivided into pooras (wards or parishes), called after each day of the week, by which the markets are regulated, and equally distributed throughout the town. Palaces sometimes derive their names from these wards or parishes.

passed, was extremely unwilling to wage war with his brother; and anticipating his wishes, sent to him a commission, rendering him governor of Punjab, Peshawar, and Lumghan: a measure with which Kamran professed to be satisfied. The government of Mewat was conferred on Hindal Mirza, and Askurry Mirza obtained that of Sumbhul.

A. H. 938.
A. D. 1532.

In the year 938, Hoomayoon led an army against the strong fortress of Kallunjur. During the siege, Mahomed Khan, the son of Sikundur Lody, in conjunction with Bubun Khan Julwany, having taken possession of Joonpoor, made war in the eastern provinces. Hoomayoon receiving intelligence of this event, left Kalunjur, and marched to Joonpoor, where he defeated the Afghans; and, having reinstated Sooltan Jooneid Birlas in the government, he returned to Agra. On his arrival there, according to the statement of Nizam-ood-Deen Ahmud Bukhshy, Hoomayoon bestowed honorary dresses on above twelve thousand of his followers, of whom two thousand received jewels also. At this time, he sent to demand of Sheer Khan Afghan the evacuation of the fortress of Chunar, which being refused, Hoomayoon marched an army against him. While engaged in this operation, information was received, that Bahadur Shah of Guzerat was advancing towards the north. This event induced Hoomayoon to make peace with Sheer Khan, and to return towards Agra. On the road Kootub Khan, the son of Sheer Khan, whom

Hoomayoon had brought with him as a hostage, effected his escape, and joined his father at Chunar.

Mahomed Zuman Mirza, grandson of Sooltan Hoossein Mirza, having resolved, if possible, to supplant Hoomayoon on the throne of India, through the agency of the Choghtay chiefs in the service of the latter, formed a plan for the King's assassination. The plot was discovered, but Mahomed Zuman Mirza received his pardon on taking the most solemn oath of future fidelity; yet inheriting from his father a treasonable propensity, he projected a similar scheme a second time, when he was seized, and confined in the fort of Byana, under charge of Yadgar Beg. Orders were issued, at the same time, for apprehending and depriving of sight his nephew, Mahomed Sooltan Mirza, as also Nukwut Sooltan, both Mogul officers of distinction, and abettors of Mahomed Zuman's designs. The person to whom this duty was intrusted executed the decree only on Nukwut Sooltan, without destroying the sight of Mahomed Sooltan Mirza. Meanwhile Mahomed Zuman Mirza, assisted by his keeper, Yadgar Beg, escaped from Byana, and sought refuge at the court of Bahadur Shah of Guzerat. Mahomed Sooltan Mirza aided by his two sons, Alugh Mirza and Shah Mirza, also fled to Kunowj, where he was joined by about six thousand persons, consisting of Moguls, Afghans, and Rajpoots.

Hoomayoon required Mahomed Zuman Mirza to be delivered up by the King of Guzerat, who refused compliance, and became involved in a war. Bahadur Shah was at this time engaged

in besieging the fort of Chittoor. The Prince Rana Sanka * claimed the protection of Hoomayoon; who, having advanced as far as Gualiar, encamped there for two months, and, for what reason does not appear, returned peaceably to Agra. Rana Sanka, despairing of relief, sent a crown of jewels and other valuable presents to Bahadur Shah, and thus induced him to raise the siege.

Bahadur Shah, successful in every quarter, and inflated with pride by having reduced Mando and other places, did not hesitate to show his contempt for Hoomayoon, by bringing Mahomed Zuman Mirza into public notice, and by granting him honours. He also encouraged Alla-ood-Deen, a son of the King Bheilole Lody, to make an attempt on the throne of Dehly. To this end, Bahadur Shah conferred on Tartar Khan, the son of Alla-ood-Deen, the command of forty thousand men, to enable him to march against Hoomayoon. Tartar Khan took Byana, and advanced to the neighbourhood of Agra, when Hoomayoon directed his brother, Hindal Mirza, to oppose him. As the armies approached, Tartar Khan's troops deserted him; so that, in the space of ten days, he had scarcely ten thousand horse remaining. With these, however, he ventured to give battle, but was totally overthrown, having lost most of his troops, three hundred officers, and eventually his own life. Hindal Mirza, after this victory, having retaken Byana and all the other places which had before fallen into the hands of the enemy, returned in triumph to Agra.

* In some MSS. he is called Vikramajeet.

A.H. 940. A.D. 1533. Bahadur Shah, in the year 940, marched a second time towards Chittoor. Hoomayoon in this year caused a citadel to be built in Dehly, on the banks of the Jumna, to which he gave the name of Deen Puna (the asylum of the faithful), after which he marched towards Sarungpoor in Malwa. This place belonged to Bahadur Shah of Guzerat, to whom Hoomayoon addressed the following verses :

"O thou!* the ravager of Chittoor,
"In what way wilt thou subdue infidels ?
"Knowest thou, that while employed at Chittoor,
"A king cometh to subdue thee ?"

Bahadur Shah answered Hoomayoon in the same strain :

"I, who am the ravager of Chittoor,
"Will conquer the idolaters by valour ;
"And he who dares not succour Chittoor
"Shall see in what way he himself shall be conquered."

Bahadur Shah, after sending this reply, summoned a council of war ; when it was the opinion of the majority that, as Hoomayoon had all his force with him, it would be better to raise the siege and march against him, and thus strike a decisive blow at once. Other advisers maintained that Hoomayoon's religious principles would prevent him from molesting Bahadur Shah while engaged in war with idolaters ; and that, therefore, it was

* The wit of these verses consists in the similarity of sound between Chitoor, signifying how or in what way, and Chittoor, the name of the fort.

most advisable to bring the siege, now far advanced, to a close, and afterwards to act according to circumstances. Bahadur Shah, adopting the latter opinion, the siege was prosecuted with vigour till Chittoor fell; while Hoomayoon continued loitering away his time at Sarungpoor. The reign of Bahadur Shah now drawing to a close, that Prince, without anticipating his destiny, and full of his own importance, marched against Hoomayoon, who, hearing of his approach, proceeded to oppose him. The two armies met near Mundsoor. Bahadur Shah, who had collected a large train of artillery, was induced, by the advice of his engineer, Roomy Khan, to entrench his army, and to place his cannon in redoubts, in hopes that the Moguls would risk an attack. In this expectation he was disappointed; both armies continued to lie in sight of each other for two months, during which daily skirmishes occurred, but with varied success. Hoomayoon, unable to draw Bahadur Shah from his entrenchments, directed his attention to cutting off his supplies. He accordingly ordered his horse to proceed in bodies of from five to six thousand, to scour the country in rear of the enemy's camp, wherein famine began to be severely felt, so that men, horses, elephants, and camels perished daily in great numbers. Finding himself hemmed in on all sides, Bahadur Shah, accompanied by only five persons, consisting of Moobarik Khan, the ruler of Kandeish; Kadir Khan, who afterwards became ruler of Malwa; his own general, Sudr Jehan Khan, and two servants, left his camp in the night, and fled

A. H. 940.
A. D. 1533.

towards Mando. This event was no sooner known in the morning than Bahadur Shah's army dispersed. Hoomayoon ordered a pursuit, which was continued as far as Mando; and a great slaughter was committed on the unfortunate wretches, who had neither the power to escape nor the means to defend themselves. Bahadur Shah threw himself into Mando, and was invested therein.

A few days after, three hundred Moguls escaladed the walls of Mando in the night; and thought the garrison consisted of many thousand men, such was the panic into which they were thrown, that they betook themselves to flight. Bahadur Shah escaped with five thousand horse, and reached the town of Champanere, which had become the capital of Guzerat, while Sudr Jehan Khan, his general, being dangerously wounded, and unable to proceed, shut himself up in the citadel of the fort of Mando, called Songur. Herein he was besieged, and capitulated on the second day; but on account of his excellent character, and his valour, he was received into favour by Hoomayoon. During the flight from Mundsoor, Sudr Jehan Khan had saved Bahadur Shah's life when very nearly taken by Hoomayoon in person. On this occasion, he threw himself between Hoomayoon's guards and his master, giving the latter an opportunity of escaping, and after himself receiving several wounds, one of which was from the hand of Hoomayoon, he reached Mando with great difficulty.

A. H. 941.
A. D. 1534.

Three days after the capture of Mando, Hoomayoon renewed the pursuit of Bahadur Shah,

who, having taken all his treasure and jewels out of the city of Champanere,* fled towards Ahmud-abad. The city of Champanere, however, was devoted to plunder, while the reduction of the citadel (which still held out) being left to Dowlut Khwaja Birlas, Hoomayoon continued in pursuit of the King of Guzerat. Bahadur Shah, hearing of the approach of the Moguls, fled to Cambay in the first instance, and eventually to the island of Dew. He was pursued so closely by Hoomayoon, that he arrived at Cambay on the very evening Bahadur Shah left it.

Hoomayoon, however, having heard that Bahadur Shah's wealth was principally in the citadel of Champanere, he returned to superintend the siege of that place. Yekhtyar Khan, of Guzerat, defended the fort with great bravery; yet, though he had some years' provision in the fort, still, with that propensity to accumulate which belongs to some men, he was desirous of obtaining more, and was in the habit of receiving supplies daily by a secret pathway, leading through a thick wood. Hoomayoon, while one day reconnoitring, suspecting this fact, seized a party of country people who conveyed the supplies, and induced them to carry him, in disguise, to the spot where they gained admittance. After making the necessary observations, he returned to his camp. On the same night, having procured a number of steel spikes to be constructed, and selected a body of three hundred men for the purpose,

* In the original it is called Mahomedabad Champanere.

he determined to attempt to take the place by escalade. Accordingly several false attacks were made by moonlight on other quarters. As access to this part of the fortress was extremely difficult, the enemy had confidently withdrawn the troops to repel the other assaults. The King was thus enabled to fix at leisure his steel spikes, without interruption, in the scarp of the rock, by which means thirty-nine officers ascended: the last was Beiram Khan Toorkoman,* after whom Hoomayoon himself mounted, making the fortieth. Before sunrise, his whole detachment was within the walls, when displaying a preconcerted signal, his troops attacked the garrison with vigour on all sides. At this moment Hoomayoon, at the head of his detachment, calling out "Alla Akbur,†" forced his way, sword in hand, through the enemy, and possessed himself of one of the gates, through which he admitted his troops. The whole garrison, excepting Yekhtyar Khan and his family, who were in the citadel (called Moolba), were put to the sword; but the governor, who had defended it so bravely, obtained honourable terms. The great strength of this place, the numerous garrison, and the boldness and success of the enterprise by which its capture was achieved, render this action equal, in the opinion of military men, to any thing of the kind recorded in history.

* Beiram Khan became the tutor of Hoomayoon's son Akbur, and was subsequently much distinguished.

† This phrase, denominated Tukbeer (magnifying), signifies "God is great."

Here the treasure of Guzerat, the accumulation of many years, was distributed among the troops; Hoomayoon gave to his officers and soldiers as much gold, silver, or jewels, as could be heaped upon their respective shields, proportioning the value to their rank and merit; for the wealth of Room,* Khutta, and Furung, which had been there collected to a vast amount, fell into the hands of the captors on this occasion.

Bahadur Shah, having secured himself in the island of Dew, sent Imad-ool-Moolk, a Circassian, (the father of that Chungiz Khan who was subsequently murdered) to Ahmudabad, to collect the revenues, and to levy troops, and he succeeded so well, that the King of Guzerat, shortly after, found himself at the head of fifty thousand men, and daily gained a new accession of power. Hoomayoon hearing of this circumstance, after nominating Tardy Beg to command the fort of Champanere and the adjacent countries, marched in person towards Ahmudabad. Imad-ool-Moolk drew out his troops to oppose him, near Mahomoodabad, but was defeated. On this occasion, the vanguard only of Hoomayoon's army, commanded by Askurry Mirza, was engaged. The rest of the Moguls did not arrive in time to be brought into action. In reward for this signal service, Aksurry Mirza received the government of Ahmudabad. Hoomayoon now divided the provinces of Guzerat among his officers, and marched to Boorhanpoor. In this state of affairs,

* Room, Asia Minor; Khutta, Tartary; Furung, Europe.

Boorhan Nizam Shah, Imad Shah, and the other sovereigns of the Deccan, apprehensive of his designs, wrote submissive letters, tendering their allegiance. Hoomayoon had scarcely obtained these flattering tokens of his success, when accounts arrived of the insurrection created in the north by Sheer Khan. Having received the submission of Kandeish, Hoomayoon proceeded to Mando. It was during this march that Khondameer, the author of the Hubeeb-oos-Seer, died in his camp. The remains of this eminent person were conveyed to Dehly, and interred in the same vault with Ameer Khoosrow and Sheikh Nizam-ood-Deen Owlia.

In Guzerat, Imad-ool-Moolk, and the other nobles of the old government, again collected troops, and appeared in force in the neighbourhood of Ahmudabad. Yadgar Nasir Mirza, the ruler of Puttun, and Kasim Hoossein Sooltan, ruler of Baroach, themselves princes by descent, were compelled to quit their stations, and unite with Askurry Mirza. It happened one night, while engaged in drinking wine, Askurry Mirza observed, "Am not I a king, God's representative "on earth?" Ghuzunfur Beg Koka, one of Askurry Mirza's foster brothers, and the full brother of Mehdy Kasim Khan, whispered in his ear, "You are a king, but not an independent "one." His companions smiled, and bantered Askurry Mirza on the subject, till he became so vexed, that he gave orders next day to seize Ghuzunfur Beg, who shortly after made his escape, and joined Bahadur Shah at Dew, where

having assured him that the Moguls were only waiting for some plea to quit the country, he offered to conduct his troops against them, and even agreed to suffer death if they opposed him with resolution.

Bahadur Shah, who had ensured the aid of the inhabitants, did not fail to take advantage of this overture, and proceeded towards Ahmudabad, while Hindoo Beg, one of the Mogul chiefs, strongly advised Askurry Mirza to proclaim himself king, in order to secure the confidence of the troops. Although Askurry Mirza, in reality, desired nothing more, he pretended at the time to reprove Hindoo Beg severely for the suggestion; and, on the next day, having marched out of Ahmudabad, he encamped near Assavul, in the neighbourhood of Surkech. The Guzerat army under Bahadur Shah reached that place about the same time, when the Moguls fired a few shots into Bahadur Shah's camp, one of which struck his tent. Vexed at this circumstance, he sent for Guzunfur Beg Koka, in order to execute him; but he was restrained by his assuring him that he had certain information of Askurry Mirza's intended retreat on that very night. It turned out as he said; for Askurry Mirza, calculating on securing Hoomayoon's treasure at Champanere, marched towards that fortress. Bahadur Shah pursued him during two or three days, but returned; while Tardy Beg, the governor of Champanere, on discovering Askurry Mirza's object, resolved to put him to death rather than suffer him to obtain the treasure. Askurry Mirza,

finding his design frustrated, marched to Agra, raising troops on the road: meanwhile. Hoomayoon, anticipating his views, left Mando, and reached Agra before him. Askurry Mirza, on hearing that Hoomayoon had already arrived, perceived that his diabolical projects had all miscarried. Accordingly, he, together with Yadgar Nasir Mirza, and Kasim Sooltan, represented to Hoomayoon, that being unable to maintain Guzerat against Bahadur Shah, they had returned to join the King at Agra. Tardy Beg Khan also shortly after surrendered the fort of Champanere to Bahadur Shah, and joined Hoomayoon, who, although not deceived, considered it prudent to profess himself satisfied with their conduct, and to take no notice of it. Thus the countries of Malwa and Guzerat, the conquest of which had been obtained by the exertions of so fine an army, were now abandoned without a struggle.

On the return of Hoomayoon to his capital, it was observed, that he gave way more than ever to the excessive use of opium: public business was neglected; and the governors of the surrounding districts, taking advantage of the state of affairs, promoted their own aggrandizement. In the first place, Sooltan Jooneid Birlas dying, the Afghans of the late Shurky kingdom, whom he had kept in subjection, revolted, and enlisted under the standard of Sheer Khan Soor. This event compelled Hoomayoon to march towards Joonpoor on the 8th of Suffur, A. H. 943: and as Sheer

Suffur 8. A.H. 943. May 27. A.D. 1536.

Khan had gone to Bengal, the King proceeded to besiege the fort of Chunar, which held out, under the command of Ghazy Khan Soor, for six months. The place was, however, eventually taken, owing to the skill of Roomy Khan (the late commander of Bahadur Shah's artillery), now in the service of Hoomayoon. Having ascertained the strength of the fort on the land side, Roomy Khan determined to attack it from the river Ganges. He accordingly erected stages of a certain height, placed on rafts, which being built at some distance above the fort, were launched, and floated down without resistance: the walls being low, they were easily surmounted, and the place was thus secured.

Previously to this event, Hoomayoon had marched on with the main body of the army. Sheer Khan Soor, meanwhile, had wrested the kingdom of Bengal from Mahmood Shah Poorby, who, having been severely wounded, reached the King's camp. Hoomayoon reached Gurhy, a place situated on the banks of the Ganges, but difficult of access from the woods in its vicinity. Sheer Khan, however, content with the spoils of the kings of Goor, and without opposing Hoomayoon, fled to the mountains of J'harkund, leaving the Moguls to continue their march unmolested to Goor, the capital of Bengal. Hoomayoon having occupied Goor, he caused that unpropitious appellation to be changed for that of Junutabad.* He took up his residence in that city for the space of three

* Goor, signifying the grave; Junutabad, paradise.

months, but was obliged to abandon it on account of the insalubrity of the climate, the greatest part of his army having fallen sick. At this time, accounts reached the King of the rebellion of his brother, Hindal Mirza, at Agra. Hindal Mirza had been sent to suppress the revolt of Mahomed Sooltan Mirza, who, we have already observed, had escaped to Kunowj; but instead of performing that service, as soon as Hindal found himself at the head of an army, he aspired to the throne; and marching back to Agra, openly declared his intentions, and put to death Sheikh Bheilole, who was formerly preceptor to the King, after which he caused the khootba to be read in his own name. From Agra he proceeded with all the ensigns of royalty to Dehly, to which place he laid siege. Hoomayoon, hearing of these proceedings, left Jehangeer Beg Mogul and Ibrahim Beg in Bengal, and hastened towards Agra. On the march, Mahomed Zuman Mirza, who had formerly found an asylum with Bahadur Shah, returned from Sind, and, on promise of pardon, joined the King with a considerable party. Meanwhile, Sheer Khan Soor, finding the King's army so much weakened by sickness and desertion, and learning that his affairs were perplexed by the rebellion of Hindal Mirza, marched with his troops from Rohtas, and came up with Hoomayoon at Jowsa. Both armies lay three months inactive, at a time when Hoomayoon ought to have brought on an action at all hazards, being every day insulted and harassed by the enemy's light troops.

To add to Hoomayoon's embarrassments, which could hardly be exceeded, his other brother, Kamran Mirza, instead of aiding him at this crisis, aspired to the throne, and marched with ten thousand horse from Lahore, giving out, that he came to offer assistance. On the arrival of Kamran at Dehly, Hindal Mirza prevailed on him to unite their forces in prosecution of the siege. Fukhr-ood-Deen Ally, who commanded in Dehly, informed Kamran that he would never betray his trust, but was determined to hold out to the last drop of his blood, as long as Hoomayoon reigned; but that if Kamran should, in the first place, render himself master of Agra, and succeed in subduing his brother Hoomayoon, he would then, and not till then, give up the city of Dehly.

The Princes, finding the governor so resolute, raised the siege, and marched towards Agra. On reaching that city, the jealousy which the brothers naturally entertained against each other (the eyes of both being turned towards the throne) evinced itself in open war. Hindal Mirza, being deserted by many of his party, fled to Alwur, with five thousand horse and three hundred elephants; while Kamran Mirza, entering Agra, proclaimed himself king.

A. H. 946.
A. D. 1539.

Hoomayoon used every possible argument with his brothers to effect a coalition of interests against Sheer Khan; telling them, that their intestine feuds must end in their losing that mighty empire which had cost their father so much pains to acquire; that their conduct would involve the house of Teimoor in one common ruin; and that

no remedy existed, but to reunite against the common enemy, and afterwards to divide the empire amongst themselves. These arguments had no weight with the King's brothers, who, blinded by ambition, determined rather to lose all than to be content with a part. They calculated, that after Sheer Khan had defeated Hoomayoon, they should be able to subdue him ; and each had the vanity to suppose, that he would in the end exclude his rival, and reign alone. At this juncture, Sheer Khan sent one Sheikh Khuleel, a dervish of great reputation, to Hoomayoon, to treat for peace, to which the latter assented on the following condition :—that Sheer Khan should content himself with Bengal and Behar, to be held in the King's name, for which he was to pay a trifling annual tribute. This condition was signed and ratified by mutual oaths ; and Hoomayoon, trusting too much to the faith of his enemy, permitted a free intercourse to be maintained between both armies. Sheer Khan's chief object in obtaining a suspension of hostilities was to throw Hoomayoon off his guard. Accordingly, one morning early, he treacherously surprised the Mogul camp on the banks of the Ganges, during the armistice, and totally defeated it. A bridge of boats, which the latter had been preparing, was unfinished ; and no means of escape remained, but by swimming across the stream, all the craft on the river having been seized by a party of the enemy, who had turned the rear of Hoomayoon's army for that purpose. The King with a vast number of his soldiers plunged into the

current, where, according to the most authentic accounts, eight thousand Moguls, exclusive of Hindoos, were drowned, among whom was the Prince Mahomed Zuman Mirza. This dreadful blow occurred in the year 946. Hoomayoon owed his life to one Nizam, a water-carrier, who with great difficulty swam alongside of him across the river, and was among the few who survived the slaughter of this eventful day, and fled to Agra. On reaching his capital, Hoomayoon allowed the man who had saved his life to sit on the throne for half a day, and permitted him to reward his own relatives during that time with princely presents. Kamran Mirza, hearing of this defeat, hastened from Agra to Alwur, to consult with his brother Hindal Mirza, and finding that the Afghans were likely to prevail in all quarters, they became ashamed of their conduct, and now when too late endeavoured to support Hoomayoon. The King was shortly afterwards joined by Jehangeer Beg and Ibrahim Beg, who were at this time expelled from Bengal, and Mahomed Sooltan Mirza (who had gone into rebellion) came from Kunowj, leaving the country he had acquired in the hands of the enemy.

A. H. 946.
A. D. 1359.

The three royal brothers having met at Agra, held daily consultations; but Kamran, averse to composing their differences, abandoned their councils, and proposed to return to Lahore, to which measure he was principally instigated by Khwaja Kullan Beg. Hoomayoon in vain use every argument to prevent his departure; but the ambition of Kamran prompted him to independence,

and he accordingly withdrew from his brothers' councils. These dissensions had continued six months, when Kamran was suddenly seized with dysentery, owing to too great indulgence of his appetite; and imputing the disease to poison, he quitted the court for Lahore, leaving a thousand horse only under Sikundur Sooltan, one of his officers. Hoomayoon's soldiers, greatly disconcerted by the departure of Kamran Mirza, deserted, and many of them accompanied him. Among others, however, Mirza Hydur Doghlat,* disgusted with his conduct, abandoned his standard, and joined Hoomayoon, to whom he was afterwards of great service.

Sheer Khan, who had remained quiet during these disputes, now advanced with an army to the banks of the Ganges, and detaching his son Kootub Khan across the river, took possession of the adjacent provinces. Hoomayoon, on receiving intelligence of his movements, ordered Kasim Hoossein Sooltan, in conjunction with Yadgar Nasir Mirza and Sikundur Sooltan, to oppose him. They met the enemy at Kalpy, where an obstinate engagement took place, in which victory declared in favour of the Moguls. Kootub Khan, with a great part of his army, was cut off, and that

* This person ascended the throne of Kashmeer, and is the author of the most authentic history of that interesting principality.

It is worth while to compare the Portuguese accounts of these times, transmitted to us by Faria-e-Souza (vol. i. chap. ix. p. 421. Stevens's translation, ed. 1694), with the minute details which the Mahomedan historian has afforded us.

chief's head was sent to Agra. The generals, at the same time, recommended the King immediately to assume the command of the army in person.

Hoomayoon accordingly marched with a hundred thousand horse, and crossing the Ganges, near Kunowj, encamped for a whole month in view of Sheer Khan's army, which consisted of only fifty thousand men. Meanwhile, Mahomed Sooltan Mirza and his sons, who were alike distinguished for their treachery and ingratitude, went over to the enemy with all their adherents. Many others were induced also to follow them; an event which again plunged the King into distress; for his army, thus dispirited, began to desert by thousands. To complete his misfortunes, too, the rainy season commenced; his camp became quite overflowed, insomuch that he was obliged to abandon his position, and move to a more exposed one on higher

Mohurrum 10. A. H. 947. May 17. A. D. 1540.

ground. On the 10th of Mohurrum, 947, while his army was in motion, he was attacked by Sheer Khan, and sustained a signal defeat. Having unfortunately, as in the former action, the river close on his rear, some thousands of his soldiers, in avoiding the swords of the enemy, suffered a more ignominious fate in the stream. A few only escaped with the King across the river, with whom he fled to Agra. Sheer Khan lost no time in pursuing Hoomayoon, who was forced

Rubbee-ool-Awul, A. H. 907. July, A. D. 1540.

to retreat to Lahore. In the month of Rubbee-ool-Awul, of that year, he was joined in Punjab by many of his Mogul officers, who had been

dispersed on the day of the battle of Kunowj. Sheer Khan, still continuing the pursuit, crossed the river Beea near Sooltanpoor, and compelled Hoomayoon, in the month of Rujub to pass down the river of Lahore,* and to retreat towards Tutta and Bhukkur on the Indus. Kamran Mirza at length became sensible of his ungenerous conduct towards his brother, and was compelled to fly towards Kabul. Hoomayoon having crossed the Indus on his way to Bhukkur, halted at Lory, and sent an ambassador with a horse and dress to Mirza Shah Hoossein Arghoon, governor of Tutta, to request his aid in recovering Guzerat; but Mirza Shah Hoossein detained Hoomayoon by various artifices and excuses for five or six months, till his small army, distressed for want of pay, daily diminished in numbers. Hindal Mirza left Hoomayoon at this time, and went to Kandahar, having been invited thither by Kurrachar Khan, the governor of the province; Yadgar Nasir Mirza proposed also to quit the King, though the latter spared no pains to bind him firm to his interest by giving him the government of Bhukkur; but he was no sooner in possession, than he declared his independence.

Rujub. November.

Hoomayoon with his small army now laid siege to Sehwan for seven months, without producing any effect; when Mirza Shah Hoossein, desirous of getting the place into his own hands, advanced with a force from Tutta, and surrounding both the garrison and the besiegers, prevented supplies from being carried to either. Hoomayoon's army

* The Ravy.

became greatly distressed, and was soon reduced to extremities. The King solicited Yadgar Nasir Mirza to join him with his forces from Bhukkur; but Yadgar was prevailed on to unite with his enemy, Mirza Shah Hoossein, who promised to give him his daughter in marriage, and to secure him in his government. Hoomayoon, thus deserted by all his relatives and friends, was obliged to retreat from before Sehwan to Bhukkur, where he could not even obtain a few boats to cross his army over the Indus. After a search of some days, and wandering along the banks, he discovered some craft that had been sunk, and having raised them, he transported his troops to the opposite bank.

Notwithstanding these accumulated misfortunes, Hoomayoon had strength enough left to inspire terror into Yadgar Nasir Mirza, who, to avoid his resentment, came and made his submission. He obtained his pardon, but shortly after began to create sedition among the troops, and privately drew them over to his own interest. This plot being communicated to the King, Yadgar Nasir Mirza, instead of denying it, appeared at the head of his party in open rebellion; but the principal officers of his faction having refused to attack their King, an action was prevented at the very time when both armies were formed in order of battle. Hoomayoon, being in no condition to contest the point, thought only of providing for his safety, and accordingly marched by the way of Jesselmere to Nagoor and Ajmere, then ruled by Maldew, one of the most potent of the Hindoo rajas, from whom

he had before received an invitation. While proceeding through the territory of Jesselmere, the Raja of that country opposed him; but being defeated, Hoomayoon passed on to the boundaries of Ajmere, where he halted, and sent a messenger to Maldew, who perceiving he had nothing to apprehend from Hoomayoon, and having no cause for attachment to him, resolved to seize and make him over to his enemy, Sheer Khan. One of Maldew's soldiers, who had formerly been in the service of Hoomayoon, obtaining intelligence of the design, communicated it to him. Hoomayoon, warned of his danger, mounted his horse at midnight, and fled towards Amurkote, a place situated about a hundred coss (200 miles) from Tutta. His horse beginning to fail, he asked Tardy Beg Khan,* one of his chiefs, who was well mounted, to let him have his, but was refused. The troops of Maldew being close in pursuit, Hoomayoon was necessitated to mount a camel, till Nudeem Koka, his foster-brother, having caused his mother to dismount, gave her horse to the King, and placing her on the camel, ran on foot by her side.

The country through which they fled being an entire desert of sand, the Moguls were in the utmost distress for water. Some ran mad; others fell down dead. Nothing was witnessed but dreadful screams and lamentations; while, to add to their misery, news arrived of the enemy's approach. Hoomayoon ordered all those who could fight to

* Tardy Beg Khan was afterwards executed in the reign of Akbur for shamefully deserting his post at Dehly.

form the rearguard, and allowed the women and baggage to move forward: but the enemy did not make their appearance. The King rode on in front, to see how it fared with his family; and it was fortunate he did so, for night coming on, those in the rear lost their way, and in the morning the enemy were discovered in close pursuit. The King was left with a few soldiers only, commanded by one Ameer Sheikh Ally, who, with about twenty brave men, resolved to sell their lives dearly, and having repeated the creed, turned upon their pursuers. The first arrow discharged reached the heart of the chief of the enemy, and the remainder fled. The Moguls, pursuing in their turn, took many of the enemy's camels; after which, the King coming to a well, ordered the whole party to kneel down, and offer up prayers for their escape. During the day, those who had lost their way joined again.

On marching forward, the Moguls were more distressed than before, there being no water for three whole days. On the fourth day they came to a well, which was so deep that a drum was beaten to give notice to the man driving the bullocks, that the bucket had reached the top.*

* This simple mode of raising water is practised throughout India. A large leathern bag or bucket, containing from ten to fifteen gallons, is suffered to drop into the well, and is drawn up by oxen, the rope passing over a small wheel which traverses on a frame overhanging the surface of the water. Some of the wells in the desert of Amerkote and Jesselmere are from 100 to 600 feet deep, and the movements of the cattle raising the water are regulated by a small kettle-drum.

The unhappy followers were so impatient for water, that, as soon as the first bucket appeared, several of them threw themselves upon it, before it had quite reached the surface, and fell in. The next day they arrived at a brook, and the camels, who had not tasted water for several days, were allowed to quench their thirst ; but having drank to excess, several of them died. The King, after enduring unheard-of miseries, at length reached Amurkote with only a few attendants. The Raja, who has the title of Rana, took compassion on his misfortunes, and spared nothing that could alleviate his sufferings, or tend to console him in his distress.

At Amurkote, on the 5th of Rujub in the year 949, the Prince Akbur was born of the Queen Banoo Begum. Hoomayoon, after returning thanks to God, left his family in the hands of the Rana of Amurkote, and with his assistance marched against Bhukkur. But a mutiny breaking out among the Rana's troops, they dispersed, and nothing could be effected. Some of the King's officers also deserted him ; while the gallant Ameer Sheikh Ally, one of his most faithful adherents, was killed in an action with Shah Hoossein Arghoon. Hoomayoon now retired towards Kandahar, having been joined by Beiram Khan* Toorkoman from Guzerat. Kamran Mirza, who had obtained possession of Kandahar from his brother, Hindal Mirza, had

Rujub 5. A. H. 949. October 14. A. D. 1542.

* He afterwards became Akbur's tutor, and eventually protector and regent, in the following reign.

placed Askurry Mirza in the government; and Shah Hoossein Arghoon now wrote to him, that Hoomayoon being without followers, might easily be seized; so that Askurry Mirza, instead of affording his brother aid in his distress, attacked Hoomayoon as he approached Kandahar, and obliged him to leave his infant son Akbur behind in camp, and to fly to Khorassan with his mother, the Sooltana, and only twenty-two horsemen, one of whom was Beiram Khan. Askurry Mirza, being disappointed of his object, on coming into Hoomayoon's camp, carried off his nephew, the infant Akbur, to Kandahar.

Hoomayoon, finding he could place no reliance on his brothers, proceeded to Seestan, where he was hospitably received by Ahmud Sooltan Shamloo, the governor, on the part of Shah Tamasp, King of Persia. This officer met and escorted Hoomayoon to the capital of Seestan, and treated him with the utmost consideration. From this generous chief Hoomayoon received not only a supply of money, but a number of attendants were furnished for his Queen. The King, having taken what appeared absolutely necessary, proceeded to Herat, where he was met by the Prince Mahomed Mirza, the King of Persia's eldest son. This prince omitted nothing of that generosity and politeness which so remarkably distinguished his character, and provided the unfortunate exile abundantly with every requisite for his journey to the Persian court. In his progress, Hoomayoon was met by all the governors of the provinces, who paid him

their respects, and made magnificent entertainments for him. On his arrival at Kuzween, he deputed Beiram Khan to Ispahan, on amission to the King of Persia, and awaited his return at Kuzween.

A. H. 949.
A. D. 1542.

SHEER SHAH SOOR:

His origin.—Sahsaram and Tanda conferred on his father Hussun Khan Soor.—Hussun Khan dies.—Sheer Khan's brothers dispute his title to succeed to the estate.—The contests with his brothers eventually end in his favour.—The widow of the King of Joonpoor appoints Sheer Khan minister, and on her death he usurps the government—is attacked by the King of Bengal, whom he defeats.—Mahomed Shah Lody occupies Bengal.—Sheer Khan consents to acknowledge his title to the throne of Dehly.—Hoomayoon makes war with the pretender, who is defeated, and Sheer Khan compelled to fly into the hills—he returns, and takes the fort of Rohtas by stratagem—gains strength, and attacks Hoomayoon, who is defeated, and retreats to Agra.—Sheer Khan assumes the title of Shah, or King—expels the Moguls from India, and ascends the throne of Dehly—conquers Malwa—takes Runtunbhore and Nagore—returns to Agra—besieges Kalunjur—is wounded by the bursting of a shell, and dies.—Description of Sheer Shah's government, and the improvements in the country made by that prince.

THE original name of Sheer Shah was Fureed. His father was Hussun, an Afghan of the tribe of Soor, and a native of Roh in Pishawur. When Bheilole Lody ascended the throne, Ibrahim Khan, the father of Hussun Soor, came to Dehly in quest of military service. The seat of these Afghans is Roh, a word which, in their language, signifies a mountainous country. It extends in length from Swad and Bijowr to the town of Seevy, in the territory of Bhukkur, and in breadth, from Hussun

Abdal to Kabul. This tract at that time contained many separate tribes. Among the number of these was that of Soor, who derive their origin from the princes of Ghoor. One of the sons of the Ghoorian family, whose name was Mahomed Soor, having left his native country, took up his abode among the Afghans of Roh; and being able to prove satisfactorily that he was descended from the kings of Ghoor (although averse from intermarrying with strangers), one of the Roh Afghan chiefs consented to give him his daughter. Mahomed Soor's descendants, therefore, are called Soor Afghans; and, on this supposition, this family may be reckoned the most illustrious of any of the Afghans.

Ibrahim, the grandfather of Sheer Shah, first entered the service of one of the nobles of the court of Bheilole Lody; and when Sikundur, the son of Bheilole, succeeded his father, Jumal Khan, a chief of distinction, was appointed governor of Joonpoor. On this occasion, he took Hussun the son of Ibrahim Khan Soor with him, and eventually conferred on him the districts of Sahsaram and Tanda in jageer, for the maintenance of five hundred horse. Hussun Khan had eight sons; of whom Fureed Khan and Nizam Khan were by the same mother, an Afghan; the rest were illegitimate, and by different mothers.

Hussun, having little regard for his wife, neglected her children, so that Fureed quitted his father's roof, and enlisted as a common soldier in the service of Jumal Khan, the governor of Joonpoor. Hussun wrote to Jumal Khan upon this occasion,

requesting him to send back his son, that he might be educated; but Fureed could not be persuaded to return. "Joonpoor," he said, "was a better "place for instruction than Sahsaram;" and he affirmed that he would attend to letters of his own accord. Nor was he negligent of this object; for he could repeat the whole of the works of the celebrated poet Sady, and was besides a proficient in other branches of learning.

Much of his time was devoted to the study of history and poetry, in the pursuit of which he received encouragement from Jumal Khan's liberality. Three or four years had elapsed when Hussun Khan came to Joonpoor, and through the mediation of mutual friends, Fureed became reconciled to his father, who eventually made over to him the whole charge of his estate, himself residing at Joonpoor. Fureed, on taking leave of his father, said, "That the stability of every "administration depended on justice, and that it "should be his greatest care not to violate it, either "by oppressing the weak, or by permitting the "strong to infringe the laws with impunity." When he arrived at his jageer, he put this maxim into practice, by rendering justice to the poor, and by reducing to order such of the zemindars as opposed his authority. By this means he procured his country to be well cultivated, and his revenues to be punctually realized.

Hussun coming to visit the estate, was so well pleased with his management, that he permitted him to continue in charge of it. Hussun Khan Soor had to other sons, Sooliman and Ahmud,

by a favourite concubine, to whom he was extremely attached. This female lost no opportunity to importune him in favour of her son Sooliman, now grown up, saying he ought to provide for him. At length she obtained from her husband a promise to transfer the management of the estates from Fureed to Sooliman. This circumstance gave the old chief great concern, knowing the superior abilities of Fureed ; but when it became known to Fureed, he made a voluntary resignation of his trust, which was accordingly conferred on his brother Sooliman.

Fureed and his full brother Nizam Khan left Joonpoor immediately, and proceeded to Agra, where they obtained service with Dowlut Khan Lody, one of the principal officers of the King Ibrahim Lody. Fureed, by his good conduct, gained his master's esteem, till at length he applied to Dowlut Khan, telling him, that his father was now in his dotage, and wholly guided by an artful mistress, who had deprived both him and his brother of their patrimonial inheritance, having procured their estate to be made over to her own illegitimate children. He at the same time promised Dowlut Khan, if he obtained the royal grant of the estate in his name, to provide for his father, and to maintain five hundred good horse for the public service.

Dowlut Khan accordingly preferred a request on the subject to the King, who replied, "That "he must be a bad man indeed who should com- "plain against his own father." Dowlut Khan

having retired in silence, informed Fureed of the answer he had received, but comforted him with a promise of taking some other opportunity to urge his suit. Meanwhile Hussun Khan Soor dying, Dowlut Khan procured the King's patent in favour of Fureed, who proceeded to Sahsaram with a handsome retinue.

Sooliman, on the arrival of his brothers, evacuated the country, and took protection with Mahomed Khan Soor, a distant relative, then governor of the district of Joonpoor, and who maintained a force of fifteen hundred horse. Mahomed Khan, becoming acquainted with the intended invasion of Babur, and foreseeing that a war was inevitable, promised Sooliman, if he would accompany him when called on to join the army of the King of Dehly, he would endeavour to procure him redress. Sooliman being impatient, induced Mahomed Khan to send a person to Fureed, to effect a reconciliation. Fureed replied, he was willing to give him a proper share of his father's inheritance, but that he would on no account part with any of his power; reminding him of the old adage, that "two swords "cannot be contained in one scabbard." Sooliman insisting on a share of the government also, no accommodation was then effected between the brothers. This failure irritated Mahomed Khan to such a degree, that he resolved to compel Fureed to submit to the measures which he had proposed. Fureed, informed of his resolution, began to take steps for his security. Meanwhile, news arriving of the defeat and death of the King,

Ibrahim Lody, the whole country was thrown into confusion.

Fureed was by no means idle in the midst of the troubles which ensued, and joined Bahadur Khan, the son of Duria Khan Lohany, who had subdued Behar and assumed the royal titles, under the name of Mahomed Shah.* As that monarch was one day on a hunting-party, a lion or tiger was roused, which Fureed attacked and killed with one blow of his sabre in Mahomed Shah's presence. For this act of intrepidity, he received the title of Sheer Khan † on the spot. Sheer Khan now acquired gradually great influence and favour in Mahomed Shah Lohany's service, and was even appointed tutor to the young Prince Julal Khan. On one occasion, having obtained permission to go to his estate, he was detained by business beyond the period limited by his leave of absence. Mahomed Shah Lohany, dissatisfied with this conduct, spoke of it in public as a breach of promise; and Mahomed Khan Soor, the governor of Joonpoor, his ancient enemy, being present, took that opportunity of accusing him of treasonable designs, and with favouring the interest of Mahomed Shah Lody, one of the sons of the late King Sikundur Lody. Mahomed Shah Lohany

* It requires the reader to pay great attention to the family names of the chiefs now mentioned by the name of Mahomed Mahomed Shah Lohany is king of Behar, Mahomed Khan Soor is an officer of his government, and Mahomed Shah Lody is a son of Sikundur Lody, late king of Dehly.

† The lion knight, or lord lion.

became so incensed against Sheer Khan, that he intimated his intention to deprive him of his estate altogether, and to confer it on his brother Sooliman, as a just punishment for his offence, and as the only mode of bringing him to a sense of his duty.

Mahomed Shah Lohany, however, having still some esteem left for Sheer Khan, against whom nothing had been yet proved, delayed this measure, to which he was instigated by Mahomed Khan Soor; but by way of alarming him, he gave orders that his accuser should take an account of the revenue of the estates, in order to make an equal division of it among his brothers. Mahomed Khan Soor, availing himself of this order, sent one Shady Khan, an adopted slave, to Sheer Khan, acquainting him that his brothers, according to the King's commands, were to have their proportion of the estate, which he had hitherto so unjustly withheld from them. Sheer Khan returned for answer, that Mahomed Khan Soor was much mistaken if he supposed this was the country of Roh, where estates were to be subdivided, for that the land belonged to the King, which he disposed of at pleasure.* That it was true, *family* estates, up to the present period, were always divided equally among sons on the death of their father; but that no such distribution took place in cases where districts were conferred *for the support of troops*, for the

* This language may serve to throw some light on the view the Indian Mahomedans had of the rights in landed property. The arguments adduced by Sheer Khan are consistent with the practice of the modern Marrattas.

possession of which royal grants were made out, and given to him whom the King thought most fit to perform his service. That as he himself had a personal grant from the crown for his estate, his brethren were entirely out of the question, although he had consented to give a part of the revenue to his brother Sooliman.

When the messenger returned with this answer to Mahomed Khan Soor, then at Joonpoor, he became so incensed, that, raising all his forces, he sent them against Sheer Khan, under the command of Shady Khan, his adopted slave, accompanied by Sheer Khan's brothers, Sooliman and Ahmud. Shady Khan's orders were, to take possession of the country, and to leave a force with Sooliman to protect him in the estate. This measure was altogether so sudden and unexpected, that Sheer Khan had no time to collect his troops; but on the first alarm he wrote to one Mullik Sooka (the father of Khowas Khan), his deputy in the district of Khowaspoor Tanda, to harass the enemy, but by all means to avoid an action till he joined him in person. Mullik Sooka, however, desirous of distinguishing himself, gave his enemies battle, and lost both his life and the victory. This unexpected reverse weakened Sheer Khan's power so much, that he was in no condition to oppose Mahomed Khan Soor; he therefore evacuated the country, and fled to Sooltan Jooneid Birlas, governor of Kurra and Manukpoor, on the part of the Emperor Babur. To Sooltan Jooneid Birlas he made a handsome present, was taken into favour, and at

length obtained a body of troops to recover his country. With these he defeated Mahomed Khan, who fled to the mountain of Rohtas, so that he not only recovered his own country, but added several other districts to his jageer, which he now held of the Mogul Emperor. Having rewarded the Moguls who had aided him, he permitted them to return to their master. From this time, Sheer Khan raised troops among his former friends who had fled to the hills, and eventually became very formidable in those parts. Having thus established himself, he invited back his enemy Mahomed Khan Soor, who had fled, and put him in possession of his former estate. This generous conduct converted his greatest foe into one of his best friends. Sheer Khan, having settled his affairs, left his brother Nizam Khan in charge of his country, and paid a visit to his benefactor, Sooltan Jooneid Birlas, at Kurra, who being then about to proceed to Agra, invited Sheer Khan to accompany him, when he was introduced to the Emperor Babur, whom he attended in his expedition to Chundery.

Sheer Khan, having stayed some time in the Mogul camp, and observing the manners and habits of the court, said one day to a friend, that he thought it would be no difficult matter to drive those foreigners out of Hindoostan. His friend asked him what reason he had to think so. Sheer Khan replied, "That the King himself, though a "man of parts, attended but little to business; "that he trusted every thing to his ministers, who "were all corrupt, and thought more of their own "interests than of the King's concerns; that,

"therefore, if the Afghans, who were now at en-"mity among themselves, could be brought to "unite, the work might be effected; and should "fortune ever favour him, he imagined himself "even equal to the task, however difficult it might "at present appear." His friends burst into laughter, and began to ridicule the idea. Sheer Khan, a few days after, being seated at dinner in the King's tent, had some solid dishes placed before him, but had only a spoon to eat with: he called for a knife; but the servants not supplying him, he drew his dagger without ceremony, and cutting up his meat, made a hearty meal, without noticing those who appeared diverted at the incident. When he had done, Babur, who had watched the whole proceeding, turned to the steward of the household, and said, "This Afghan "is not to be disconcerted with trifles: he may "come to be a great man yet."

Sheer Khan, conceiving by this observation that the King might have been informed of his late private conversation, left the camp that night, and retired to his estate. He wrote from thence to his benefactor, Sooltan Jooneid Birlas, that, as Mahomed Khan Soor had prevailed on Mahomed Shah Shurky, King of Behar, to send troops against his jageer, he had left Babur's camp so suddenly without taking leave. Having thus accounted to Sooltan Jooneid Birlas for his departure, he resolved to be reconciled to Mahomed Shah Shurky, with whom he now became a greater favourite than before.

Mahomed Shah Lohany dying a short time after, was succeeded by his son, Julal Khan, a minor. The young prince's mother, the Sooltana Ladoo, acted as regent, and conferred the principal offices of the government upon Sheer Khan; and she too dying soon after, the administration fell wholly into his hands. Mukdoom Alum, the governor of Hajypoor, on the part of Mahmood Shah Poorby, King of Bengal, being guilty of some misconduct, put himself under Sheer Khan's protection. The King of Bengal, to revenge this insult, ordered Kootub Khan, governor of Moongeer, with a force against Behar. As the forces of Behar were inconsiderable in comparison with those of Bengal, Sheer Khan made many overtures for accommodating differences, but to no purpose. Finding all arguments vain, he resolved to stand the unequal encounter, in which his superior skill and bravery acquired for him a complete victory. Kootub Khan was slain; and all his treasure, elephants, and camp-equipage taken, which greatly added to Sheer Khan's power and reputation.

After this victory the Lohany Afghans, cousins of Julal Khan, the young King of Behar, envying the fortune of Sheer Khan, formed a conspiracy against his life. Sheer Khan, having discovered the plot, taxed Julal Khan with being privy to it, telling the young Prince at the same time that there was no necessity for taking so base a method of ridding himself of his servant; for that if he should but once signify his inclination, Sheer Khan was ready to resign the management of that

government which he had lately so successfully protected. The Prince, either doubtful of his sincerity, or perhaps equally suspicious of the other chiefs, would not consent to his resignation ; which so effectually disappointed the conspirators, that they took every possible opportunity to widen the breach between the King and his minister. Sheer Khan, finding that he had no security but in maintaining his power, by the unlimited use he made of it justly excited the Prince's jealousy to such a degree, that, one night, accompanied by his officers, Julal Khan fled to Mahmood Shah Poorby of Bengal, and implored his aid to expel Sheer Khan, who had usurped his authority. Mahmood Shah Poorby, excited by compassion towards the young Prince, as well as instigated by his personal hatred of Sheer Khan, sent Ibrahim Khan, the son of Kootub Khan, (whom Sheer Khan had lately defeated and slain) with a considerable army against him. The Bengal army besieged Sheer Khan in a mud fort* for a length of time without success, till Ibrahim Khan found it necessary to raise the siege and send for reinforcements. Sheer Khan, availing himself of this circumstance, came out and offered battle. He ordered his troops to make a show of flight at the onset, in order to draw the enemy into an ambush which he had prepared ; and he thus defeated and slew Ibrahim Khan, took all his guns and elephants, and compelled the young Prince Julal to fly in great distress to Bengal.

* The name is omitted in the original.

Sheer Khan being no wsole master of all Behar, became daily more and more powerful. Taj Khan was at this time governor of the strong fort of Chunar, which he had held on his own account from the period of the death of Ibrahim Lody. His wife, Ladoo Mullika, who was barren, but for whom he had a great affection, having excited the envy of his other wives by whom he had children, nearly fell a victim to her husband's partiality; for the rest of Taj Khan's wives conspired against her, and induced one of their sons to promise to murder her. The young man who had undertaken the act, missing his blow, only inflicted a slight wound; and Taj Khan, being alarmed by his wife's cries, came to her assistance, and drew his sword on his son, who, seeing no hopes of escape, assaulted his father and slew him. The rest of Taj Khan's son being yet too young to be intrusted with the government, Ladoo Mullika, by her address among the chiefs and zemindars, contrived to manage the estate. Sheer Khan, informed of this state of affairs, proposed a treaty of marriage with the widow Ladoo Mullika, which was soon concluded. Sheer Khan thus secured Chunar and the dependent districts, which added greatly to his power; and the acquisition of a considerable treasure in the place was most opportune.

Much about this time, the Prince Mahomed, son of the King Sikundur Lody, having taken protection with Rana Sanka, had by his assistance and that of Hussun Khan Mewatty advanced against the Mogul Emperor Babur; but he

sustained a defeat, as we have already seen, at Kanwa. The Prince Mahomed first fled to Chittoor, but was subsequently invited to join the Lody chiefs who had assembled at Patna, and being proclaimed king, soon made himself master of all Behar. Sheer Khan, perceiving that he could not withdraw the officers from the Prince Mahomed Lody's interest, and that he had not sufficient force to oppose him, of necessity submitted to his authority, and by that means saved a part of Behar which Mahomed Lody permitted him to retain. This prince told him at the same time, that if he should effectually assist him in recovering Joonpoor from the Moguls, he would restore Behar to him. A written compact to that effect was accordingly drawn up and executed between them.

Some time after this, Sheer Khan, having obtained leave to return to Sahsaram, began to levy troops, and Mahomed Shah Lody, marching with an army against the Moguls, sent him orders to join. Sheer Khan delayed doing so for some time, which convinced the Prince he was lukewarm in his interest, and he accordingly marched his army through Sheer Khan's estate on his way to Joonpoor. On this occasion, Sheer Khan came out to meet him, caused an elegant entertainment to be provided for him, and accompanied him as far as Joonpoor. The troops of Hoomayoon evacuated the province on their approach, so that the Afghans obtained possession of the whole country as far as Manukpoor.

Hoomayoon, who was at this time besieging

Kalunjur, having heard of the progress of the Afghans, raised the siege, and marched against them. Mahomed Shah Lody having on this occasion given the chief command of his army to Bubun Khan and Bayezeed Khan, Sheer Khan conceived himself neglected, and accordingly betraying his master, wrote a private letter the night before the action to Mirza Hindoo Beg, one of the Mogul generals, acquainting him, "That he esteemed himself a servant of Babur's "family, to whom he owed his advancement, and "that he would be the cause of defeating the "Afghans next day." Accordingly, as had been preconcerted, Sheer Khan drew off his troops during the action, which occasioned Mahomed Shah Lody's defeat, for which service he was greatly favoured by Hoomayoon. Mahomed Shah Lody, after this defeat, having retreated to Patna, withdrew from public life, and in the same year died a natural death in retirement in Orissa.

Hoomayoon, after this victory, returned to Agra, and sent Mirza Hindoo Beg to Sheer Khan, requiring of the latter to put him in possession of the fort of Chunar. Sheer Khan excused himself, and obliged Hindoo Beg to retreat. Hoomayoon returned immediately with his whole army to besiege Chunar, and having invested it, he received a letter from Sheer Khan, acquainting him, "That "he considered himself one of the servants of the "house of Babur, from whom he first obtained a "government; that he had evinced his fidelity "by being the occasion of the late victory; that,

"therefore, if the King would permit him to retain "the fort of Chunar, he was willing to pay him "the revenues of the lands which he held, and "would send his son, Kootub Khan, with five "hundred horse, to be maintained at his own ex-"pence, in the King's Service." The affairs of Guzerat, owing to the conquests of Bahadur Shah, required the King's presence in that quarter, so that Hoomayoon, taking into consideration the strength of Chunar, consented to these terms, and being joined by Kootub Khan, with five hundred horse, he marched against Bahadur Shah. He had scarcely reached Guzerat, however, when Kootub Khan deserted with his party, and returned to his father. Sheer Khan raised forces, and reduced all Behar; and, gaining confidence from this success, he invaded Bengal, and having fought several severe actions, penetrated to its capital.

Mahmood Shah Poorby of Bengal shut himself up in Goor, to which Sheer Khan laid siege; but learning that the zemindars of Behar, during his absence, had raised an insurrection, he left Khowas Khan to prosecute the siege of Goor, and returned in person to Behar. Shortly afterwards, Sheer Khan rejoined the army, and the garrison of Goor being straitened for supplies, Mahmood Shah fled in a boat to Hajypoor. Being closely pursued by Sheer Khan, he gave battle, but was defeated and wounded in the action; and abandoning his kingdom, it fell into the hands of Sheer Khan.

Hoomayoon, returning from Guzerat, conceived it necessary to check Sheer Khan's rising

power; for which purpose, he marched towards Chunar. Julal Khan, a son of Sheer Khan, who commanded there, left the defence to Ghazy Khan Soor, and retired to the hills of J'har-cund, from whence he returned and annoyed the besiegers. The siege was carried on for six months, when Roomy Khan, who commanded Hoomayoon's artillery, reduced the fort by means of floating stages which have been already described.

Hoomayoon, leaving Dost Beg in charge of Chunar, marched towards Bengal, where Mahmood Shah Poorby, who, as we have already related, was wounded in an action with Sheer Khan, claimed his protection. Hoomayoon, having advanced to the pass of Gurhy, the frontier post of Bengal, found that Sheer Khan had sent his son Julal, with Khowas Khan and a strong detachment, to guard the defile. Jehangeer Koolly Beg and some other chiefs were directed to dislodge them; but they were repulsed in several attacks. Being, however, supported by more troops, and the whole army appearing in sight, a successful assault was made, and the Moguls at length became masters of the pass. Julal Khan fled to his father at Goor, who, being in no condition to engage so superior a force, evacuated that capital, carried off all his wealth to the mountains of J'harkund, and began to project a scheme for possessing himself of Rohtas, in which he might lodge his family and wealth in security.

Sheer Khan had no hopes of taking Rohtas by open force; it became necessary, therefore, to

devise some stratagem to effect the object. He accordingly sent a person to Raja Hurry Krishn Ray, who was in possession of it, to say, "That "as he was about to attempt the recovery of "Bengal, he relied on their former friendship for "permitting him to send his family and treasure "into Rohtas, with a few attendants." Hurry Krishn Ray at first refused; but Sheer Khan, having sent an artful agent to him a second time, with handsome presents, assured him, "That it "was for his women and treasure alone he "requested protection: that should he be fortunate "enough to conquer Bengal, he would make "proper acknowledgments for the favour; but if "he should lose his life in the contest, he rather "chose that his family and wealth should remain "in the hands of Hurry Krishn Ray, than fall "into those of his enemies, the Moguls." Hurry Krishn Ray suffered himself to be deceived; but in giving his consent,* resolved to keep the treasure when once in his possession.

Sheer Khan having provided dolies,† placed armed men in them, except in the two or three which were to go first; and having filled five hundred money-bags with leaden bullets, appointed some of his most trusty soldiers to carry them, in the disguise of servants, with sticks in

* This gratuitous assertion seems unsupported by proof, and is probably made by the author who wrote Sheer Shah's history, as some excuse for his subsequent conduct.

† Covered litters for the conveyance of females. The English employ them for carrying the sick and wounded men of their army in the field.

their hands: they appeared as if they were carrying the treasure up the mountain. The men who carried the dolies were also soldiers. This train having reached the gate, and the first and second doly being examined, and found to contain only old women, all farther precaution was neglected. The Raja was, in the mean time, busy in counting the bags, which he now calculated on as his own. The dolies having reached the house which the Raja had appointed for the reception of the females, the savage wolves* rushed out among the sheep, and dyed the fold with their blood. The men who conveyed the treasure at first used their staves, till they all gradually supplied themselves with arms from the dolies; and having easily mastered the garrison, totally unprepared for such an occurrence, they admitted Sheer Khan, who was encamped at a small distance. Hurry Krishn Ray himself escaped with a few followers out of the fort, by a private passage.

Thus fell one of the most impregnable fortresses in the world into the hands of Sheer Khan, together with much treasure, which had been accumulated for ages. The merit of the invention of the stratagem, however, is not due to Sheer Khan; the fort of Asseer, in the Deccan, having been long before surprised in the same manner by Nuseer Khan Farooky, ruler of Kandeish.

Although the author (Mahomed Kasim Ferishta)

* In translating this passage I have adhered closely to the Persian idiom. The soldiers are not assimilated to wolves, and the garrison to lambs, but they are personified. This peculiarity belongs to the Persian language.

has seen many hill forts in India, he has seen none to compare with that of Rohtas. It is situated on a table land on the top of a mountain, more than five coss (seven miles) square. It has only one entrance by a very narrow road, along a steep ascent of two miles from the foot of the hill to the gates; and water is found every where in abundance, by digging a few feet below the surface.

Sheer Khan having thus secured a safe retreat for his family, his friends acquired fresh spirits. Hoomayoon, in the mean time, spent three months at Goor, at which place he received advices that his brother, Hindal Mirza, had revolted in Agra, and that he had put to death Sheikh Bheilole, on account of his attachment to Hoomayoon; that he had also coined money in his own name. Hoomayoon, therefore, leaving Jehangeer Koolly Beg, with five thousand horse, in Goor, returned towards Agra. Owing to the excessive rains and bad roads, the King's cavalry and beasts of burthen perished in great numbers: and Sheer Khan, who had by this time raised a considerable army, entrenched himself on the banks of the Jowsa, at a ford by which he thought the King must of necessity pass; at which place Hoomayoon was defeated with great slaughter, in the manner already related. Sheer Khan did not immediately push forward to the capital, but having resolved to leave no enemy in his rear, he returned to Bengal. He there engaged Jehangeer Koolly Beg in several battles; in the last of which he defeated and slew him, and cut his army to pieces. After

the reoccupation of Bengal, Sheer Khan assumed the title of Shah, or King, and causing coin to be struck, and public prayers to be read in his name, marched the next year with an army towards Agra. Hoomayoon, by this time being deserted by his brother Kamran, had also given offence to his Mogul officers by the decided preference he showed towards his Toorkoman troops. He, however, crossed the Jumna with a hundred thousand horse, to encounter Sheer Khan, whose force did not exceed fifty thousand men. Sheer Khan, as we have already mentioned, defeated Hoomayoon, and pursued him through Agra and Lahore to Khooshab; from whence the latter eventually retreated towards the Indus.

Meanwhile Ismael Khan, Ghazy Khan, and Futteh Khan Bulloch, governors of the several provinces in Punjab, acknowledged the title of Sheer Shah. In his progress through that province, having observed among the mountains of Nandere and Bulnat a hill well calculated for defence, he ordered a fortress to be constructed on it, which he named Rohtas. Khowas Khan, to whose bravery and conduct he felt himself deeply indebted, was created Sipasalar (Commander of his forces), and a tenth of the revenues of Punjab was assigned to him, of which province he was appointed governor. Heibut Khan Neeazy remained in command of the army in the north-west, while Sheer Shah returned towards Agra. On his arrival he learned that Khizr Khan Sheerwany, whom he had left in the government of Bengal, had espoused the daughter of the exiled King, Mahomed Shah

Poorby, and had assumed the state of a sovereign prince. Aware of the danger of permitting such conduct, Sheer Shah proceeding to Bengal, Khizr Khan submitted without a struggle, and was imprisoned. Sheer Shah now divided the kingdom of Bengal among a number of chiefs wholly independent of each other, and appointing Kazy Fuzeelut, a native of Kurra, famous for his learning as well as for his wisdom, to control the whole, he returned to Agra.

A. H. 949.
A. D. 1542.

In the year 949, Sheer Shah marched towards Malwa. He advanced, in the first instance, to Gualiar, where he found that Shoojaat Khan, one of his officers who had laid siege to the place, had already induced Hoomayoon's governor, Abool Kasim Beg, to surrender that strong fortress into his hands; and shortly after, Mulloo Khan, the governor of Malwa, submitted without a struggle. Mulloo Khan, however, became suspicious of some design against his person, and fled from the King's camp; when Hajy Khan was appointed temporarily governor of a part of Malwa, and Shoojaat Khan was nominated to the charge of Sivas. Sheer Shah now marched to Runtunbhore, where Mulloo Khan, the ex-governor of Malwa, attacked both Hajy Khan and Shoojaat Khan, but was repulsed. Shoojaat Khan having distinguished himself very much on the occasion, Hajy Khan was recalled, and the government of Malwa was intrusted solely to Shoojaat Khan.

Sheer Shah reached Runtunbhore, and obtained possession of that fortress from the governor, who still held it in the name of the

Prince Mahomed Lody. After this event, Sheer Shah returned to Agra, where he remained a whole year, superintending the civil administration of his government. Meanwhile Heibut Khan was sent to wrest Mooltan out of the hands of the Bullochies, who had occupied it. Futteh Khan Bulloch was in consequence attacked and expelled, and the whole country submitted to the arms of Dehly. Heibut Khan received the title of Azim Hoomayoon, and the government of Mooltan.

A. H. 950.
A. D. 1543.

In the year 950, Sheer Shah learned that Poorun Mul, the son of Silhuddy Poorbeea, a chief who had formerly occupied some of the Malwa districts, maintained a seraglio of two thousand concubines, many of whom were Mahomedan women. He made this a pretext for war, and accordingly marched and invested him in the fort of Raisein. The siege was protracted for a length of time, and Poorun Mul capitulated, by which the garrison were permitted to march out with their arms and property. But Mirza Ruffeea-ood-Deen Sufvy, one of the learned men of that age, gave it as his opinion, that it was by no means necessary to observe faith with infidels, and recommended that the Rajpoots should be attacked. Sheer Shah having occupied the fort, drew out the army, and surrounding the followers of Poorun Mull, ordered his troops to cut them off. This brave band, however, defended itself with such valour, that the deeds of Roostoom and Isfundyar might be deemed child's play, till not an individual of the Hindoos survived the horrid catastrophe.

Sheer Shah, after this transaction, returned to Agra. Having remained there a few months, to recruit his army, he proceeded towards Marwar, during the march to which place he entrenched his camp every night, as well for security, as, by exercising his troops, to render them expert in this mode of defence. When he came to cross the sands, he formed redoubts all round him with gabions. In this manner he entered the country of the Raja of Nagoor and Ajmeer. Maldew, the most powerful of the Hindoo princes who still retained their independence, opposed the King with fifty thousand Rajpoots, and both armies lay thirty days in sight of each other. Sheer Shah would gladly have retreated quietly; but the danger was too great to admit of his venturing to quit his entrenchments; while the position of the enemy was such as to render an attack on him very hazardous. In this anxious situation a successful stratagem suggested itself to the King. Maldew having originally subdued most of the Rajpoot chiefs now with him, Sheer Shah caused letters in the Hindoo language to be addressed to himself, as if written by the Raja's generals, stating, "That, having "been subjected by the Raja, they had, through "necessity, accompanied him; but that they were, "in secret, inimical to him: that if Sheer Shah, "therefore, would reinstate them in their former "possessions, they were willing to pay him tribute, "and acknowledge his supremacy." On these letters Sheer Shah superscribed in Persian, "Fear "nothing, but persevere, and you may be assured "your wishes shall be complied with." Some of

these letters were purposely thrown in the way of Maldew, who, being jealous of his chiefs, was deceived, and hesitated to give battle, which he had intended doing on that very day. He was more and more confirmed in his suspicions by the eagerness which his officers evinced to engage; and on the fourth day he even ordered a retreat. Koonbha, one of his principal officers, discovered the deception, and endeavoured to convince Maldew of his error. Finding the Raja's suspicions not to be removed, he told him, "That such "treachery was unprecedented among "true Rajpoots, and he determined to "wash off the stain on their reputation with his "blood, or to subdue Sheer Shah with his own "tribe alone."

A. H. 951.
A. D. 1544.

Maldew continued to retreat; but the gallant Koonbha, with a few other chiefs, and ten or twelve thousand men, separating from their prince, turned back with an intent to surprise Sheer Shah's camp. By accident, however, they lost their way in the night, and it was daylight before they reached the enemy. Sheer Shah formed his troops, and attacked them: his army, on this occasion, by the most moderate computation, amounted to eighty thousand fighting men, which this small band of brave Rajpoots repeatedly repulsed, and would have probably defeated, had not Julal Khan Julwany arrived during the heat of the battle with a reinforcement. Sheer Shah now falling on the Rajpoots with renewed vigour, threw them into disorder. They broke, and Koonbha together with almost all his followers were cut to pieces.

Sheer Shah, after the victory, of which he had at one time despaired, declared, "That, for a hand-"full of jooar he had almost lost the empire of "India." For in the territories of Raja Maldew, owing to the poverty of the soil and want of water, wheat, rice, peas, sugar, pan, and other superior productions of Hindoostan are seldom cultivated; the common grain of the country being arzun, which in the language of India is called bajry. Maldew hearing of the loss of so many brave men, was overwhelmed with affliction, and being subsequently deserted by the greatest part of his army, he retreated among the mountains of Joodpoor.

Sheer Shah now marched against the fort of Chittoor, which surrendered by capitulation. He next proceeded to Runtunbhore, and gave that country in jageer to his eldest son Adil Khan, who fixed his residence there. The army then moved towards Kalunjur, one of the strongest forts in Hindoostan. The Raja, in consequence of Sheer Shah's treachery to Poorun Mul, refused terms, and prepared for hostilities. Sheer Shah having surrounded the fort, carried on his approaches, constructing batteries for his artillery, and sinking mines under the rock. The batteries were advanced close to the walls, a breach was made, and a general assault ordered, when a shell, which was thrown against the fort, burst in the battery in which the King stood, and communicating to a powder magazine that had not been properly secured, several gunners were blown up, as also the King, and many of his chiefs, who were so severely

scorched that they were carried for dead to their tents.

In this condition, though the King breathed with great pain, he encouraged the prosecution of the attack, and continued to give his orders, till in the evening news was brought him of the reduction of the place. He then cried out, "Thanks to the "Almighty God!" and expired.

Rubbee-ool-Awul 12. A.H. 952. May 22. A.D. 1545.

The death of Sheer Shah happened on the 12th of Rubbee-ool-Awul, in the year 952. He spent fifteen years in a military life before he ascended the thrown, and sat on the musnud five years, as emperor of Hindoostan.

Sheer Shah was not more remarkable for his good sense and talents than for his justice towards his subjects; and left behind him many monuments of his magnificence. From Bengal and Soonargaum to the Indus, which is 1500 coss (2000 miles), he built caravanseras, and dug a well at the distance of every coss. Besides which he raised many magnificent mosques for the worship of God on the highway, wherein he appointed readers of the Koran, and moollas. He ordered that at every stage all strangers, without distinction of country or religion, should be entertained, according to their quality, at the public expence, and he planted rows of fruit trees along the roads, as well to preserve travellers from the scorching rays of the sun, as to slake their thirst. Horse posts were established at proper distances, as well for forwarding quick intelligence to government, as for the advantages of trade and correspondence.

A similar establishment was also maintained from Agra to Mandoo, a distance of 300 coss (450 miles) ; fruit-trees being planted along the road side, and musjids, caravanseras, and wells being also constructed at short distances from each other. Such was the public security during his reign, that travellers and merchants, depositing their property on the road side, lay down to sleep without apprehension of robbery.

It is said that Sheer Shah being told that his beard grew white, replied, " it was true that he " had obtained the throne in the evening of life ; " a circumstance he always regretted, as it left " him so short a time to be of use to his country, " and to promote the welfare of his people."*

* Colonel Dow states that he is buried at Sahsaram, the family estate, in a magnificent sepulchre, surrounded by a reservoir of water, built during his own life.

SULIM SHAH SOOR.

Julal Khan, the second son of Sheer Shah, is raised to the throne by his nobles, and assumes the title of Sulim.—Adil Khan, the King's elder brother, comes to Agra, and abjures his birthright—he quits the court—goes into revolt—is defeated, and flies to Bengal, after which he is never heard of.—Insurrection at Lahore suppressed by the King in person.—The governor of Malwa revolts, but is expelled.—Kamran Mirza, the brother of Hoomayoon, flies from Kabul to Sulim Shah's court—he quits the court again, and returns to Kabul.—Sulim Shah dies—the character of his government.—The King's brother-in-law murders the King's only son, and ascends the throne.

At the time Sheer Shah died, his eldest son, Adil Khan, whom he had appointed his successor, was at Runtunbhore, and his younger son, Julal Khan, in the village of Reewa, near Punna. The officers who favoured Julal Khan more than his brother, then at so great a distance, insisted on the necessity of filling the throne as soon as possible, and for that purpose despatched expresses to Julal Khan, who arrived in three days in the camp. Julal Khan, through the influence of Eesa Khan and his party, ascended the throne, in the fortress of Kalunjur, on the 15th of Rubbee-ool-Awul, in the year 952, taking the title of Islam Shah, which by false pronunciation is called Sulim Shah, by which name he is more generally

Rubbee-ool-Awul 15. A. H. 952, May 25, A. D. 1545.

known. Sulim Shah, assuming the regalia, wrote to his elder brother, Adil Khan, in the following words: "You being at so great a distance, and I "so near, have taken on me the command of the "army till you arrive; but my intentions are only "to forward your interest, and to support your "authority." Julal Khan, after writing this letter, marched from Kalunjur towards Agra, and at Kora was met by Khowas Khan, commander of his father's forces, by whom he was formally crowned, and a second time ascended the throne, holding a magnificent festival upon the occasion. From Kora, Sulim Shah wrote another letter to his brother, begging in the most affectionate terms that he would come and see him.

Adil Khan wrote to the chiefs in the court of Sulim Shah, particularly to Kootub Khan, Eesa Khan, Khowas Khan, and Julal Khan Julwany, to ascertain for what purpose he was invited, and what assistance he might expect from them; at the same time he returned for answer to his brother, "That if he would send these four chiefs to him, "with proper assurances, he would come." Sulim Shah accordingly deputed them to wait on Adil Khan, and to assure him in the most solemn manner that he would permit him, if he pleased, to depart after the first interview; and in order to reconcile him to the loss of his throne, of which there was no longer any doubt, he offered him the choice of any of the provinces of the kingdom as an estate. Adil Khan proceeded to Agra, and having arrived there while Sulim Shah was on a

hunting party, joined him at the village of Seekry (now called Futtehpoor), and carpets were spread on the field for their interview. Here they evinced the greatest affection towards each other, and after some discourse proceeded to Agra. Sulim Shah, who resolved to seize his brother, gave private orders to admit but a few of his retinue into the court-yard; while Adil Khan, anticipating such a step, directed his people to force their way in, at all hazards.

Sulim Shah, perceiving his object had failed, had recourse to flattery and dissimulation, and even carried his courtesy so far as to lay hold of Adil Khan's hand, in order to force him to sit on the throne; but the latter, naturally timid and indolent, rejected the offer, knowing how little support he could expect from the nobles. Adil Khan, somewhat alarmed also at the disturbance which had been made by his guards at the palace gate, made a formal resignation of his birthright, and placing Sulim Shah on the throne, saluted him King. This hint was instantly taken by the courtiers, who were waiting with impatience the issue of the meeting. The chiefs, now advancing to the throne in succession, according to their rank, presented their congratulatory offerings, while others performed the ceremony of Nisar,* proclaiming

* Nisar, or Koorban, is the wave offering so frequently mentioned in the Old Testament. It consists in pronouncing a benediction, and waving over the head of the individual some offering, which is instantly given away in charity or otherwise.

aloud, "We offer our lives and fortunes to Sulim Shah." These ceremonies being over, Kootub Khan and the other chiefs who had passed their words to Adil Khan proposed, that as he had selected Byana for his estate, he should receive the sunnuds for that province at once, and be permitted to depart. Sulim Shah consented, and matters being arranged accordingly, Adil Khan left Agra, accompanied by Eesa Khan and Khowas Khan. Two months afterwards, Sulim Shah sent for Ghazy Mhally, one of his eunuchs, and gave him a pair of golden fetters, directing him to bring Adil Khan prisoner to court. The latter, however, having timely information of the design, fled to Mewat, where Khowas Khan then resided, and acquainted that chief, with tears in his eyes, of his brother's baseness. Khowas Khan, whose honour was concerned, roused with indignation,

A. H. 952.
A. D. 1545.

seized Ghazy Mhally, and went into open rebellion. Khowas Khan's character was so high, that by writing private letters to the nobles of the court he gained many partisans, and being now at the head of a considerable army. and accompanied by the Prince Adil Khan and Eesa Khan, he marched towards Agra. On the road, he received letters from Kootub Khan and Julal Khan Julwany, who, conceiving their honour equally implicated by the King's conduct, pledged themselves to join the Prince Adil Khan, at the same time recommending, that he should contrive to reach Agra before daylight, so as to enable his friends to join him at once. At length, when the Prince reached Seekry, which is 12 coss

from Agra, he paid his respects to Sheikh Sulim, one of the most holy men of the age; and as it was the night of the Koorban festival,* he was delayed so long at prayers, that he did not reach Agra till next day at *chasht* (breakfast). Sulim Shah, thrown into the utmost perplexity by this event, sent for Kootub Khan and Julal Khan Julwany, and reproached them for not dissuading him from the step which had involved him in such a dilemma. Kootub Khan replied, "That "the affair was by no means without remedy; "and that, if permitted, he would settle it ami- "cably. "Sulim Shah, unsuspicious of the fidelity of the two chiefs, desired that they would go to the Prince Adil Khan, and conciliate him. They were, however, no sooner gone, than Sulim Shah revealed to his friends his intention of flying to Chunar, where the treasure was lodged, and resolved to raise an army to reduce his brother, whom he was at present in no condition to engage. Eesa Khan Meer Hajib dissuaded him from this measure, reminding him, "That he had with him "ten thousand Firmully Afghans, besides many "other faithful soldiers who had served with him "before he ascended the throne, of whose fidelity he "could have no doubt;" observing, "that it was "the height of imprudence to trust the kingdom "which God had given him to the caprice of for- "tune, while he had it in his power to defend "it by instantly taking the field." "Do not (said

* This fast is kept in commemoration of the intended sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham.

"Eesa Khan) cast off the friends whom you have "acquired in your prosperity, with a vain hope to "find others in the hour of adversity. The wisest "course for you, is to appear at the head of your "army, and to take the field. This will at once "secure your wavering troops, and intimidate the "enemy."

Sulim Shah, encouraged by this advice, resolved to stand his ground, and recalled Kootub Khan and the other chiefs, who had not yet set out to accommodate matters with the Prince Adil Khan, to his presence. He told them, that on reconsideration he was resolved not to place his faithful chiefs in the hands of his enemies; and forthwith ordering his troops under arms, marched out of the city, and formed them on the plain. The officers, who had promised to favour the Prince Adil Khan, seeing their King in the field, were ashamed to desert him, and felt it their duty to fight; a disappointment which so greatly disconcerted Khowas Khan, that, although his troops behaved with great bravery, he was overthrown. After the action, the Prince Adil Khan fled, in the first instance, to Patna; but soon after disappearing, was never again heard of; while Khowas Khan and Eesa Khan retreated to Mewat, to which place Sulim Shah sent an army, which was defeated at Firozepoor. The royal army being soon after reinforced, the insurgent chiefs were obliged to retreat among the mountains of Kumaoon. Sulim Shah detached Kootub Khan in pursuit, who effected nothing beyond plundering

the countries lying in the neighbourhood of the hills. Sulim Shah meanwhile marched to Chunar, and being informed of the treasonable correspondence Julal Khan Julwany had maintained with the Prince Adil Khan before the late battle, he caused him to be put to death, together with his brother, who was concerned in the same conspiracy. On his arrival at Chunar, the King, having secured the treasure of his father, sent it to Gualiar, and returned to Agra. At this time, Kootub Khan, finding that Sulim Shah was no stranger to the part he had taken in the late disturbances, and apprehensive of returning to court, fled to place himself under the protection of Heibut Khan, governor of Lahore, then known by the title of Azim Hoomayoon. Sulim Shah, however, having despatched orders for his being delivered into his hands, Kootub Khan was sent prisoner to Gualiar, with many other suspected persons, among whom was Shahbaz Khan Lohany, the King's brother-in-law, who was deprived of his sight. The governor of Lahore and Shoojaat Khan, governor of Malwa, were about this time called to court. Azim Hoomayoon evaded the order; but the latter, obeying the summons, had the address to clear himself from all suspicion, and was permitted to resume his government.

The King now moved towards Rohtas, to bring to Agra the treasure which his father had deposited in that place. On the route, Syeed Khan, the brother of Azim Hoomayoon, having left the camp suddenly, fled to Lahore, and the King, concluding that some insurrection was in agitation, returned immediately to his capital, where, having

assembled his forces from all quarters, he marched to Dehly, and on this occasion ordered the new city built by Hoomayoon Padshah to be walled in with stone. At Dehly he was joined by Shoojaat Khan from Malwa, and having remained only a few days to organize his army, he took the route of Lahore. Azim Hoomayoon, Khowas Khan, and other disaffected chiefs, with more than double the King's forces, met him at Amballa. Sulim Shah, arriving within sight of the insurgents, ascended a rising ground for the purpose of reconnoitring, and after viewing for some time their disposition, said, " It is not consistent with my " honour to trifle with these rebels ;" and having ordered his line out, he advanced against them. It happened fortunately for him, that on the preceding night a dispute had arisen among the confederate generals as to the succession to the throne. Khowas Khan, still a friend to the family of his patron Sheer Shah, insisted on search being made for the Prince Adil Khan ; while Azim Hoomayoon affirmed, " That empire was no " man's inheritance, but belonged to him who had " the longest sword." This so plainly indicated his own ambitious views, that faction arose in the camp, and on the next day, when the troops were formed, Khowas Khan withdrew with his division without going into action at all. This circumstance so discouraged the army of the confederates, that their resistance was faint, and Sulim Shah gained an easy victory.

In the midst of this good fortune, Sulim Shah

A. H. 953. A. D. 1546. narrowly escaped with his life from a daring attempt of Syeed Khan, the brother of Azim Hoomayoon. This chieftain, with ten faithful friends, in armour, mixed without discovery among the royal troops, and advanced towards the King as if about to, congratulate him. An elephant driver, who stood near the royal person, recognizing Syeed Khan, struck him with his spear. In spite of this circumstance, Syeed Khan and his band cut their way through the guards sword in hand, and escaped. The insurgents (styling themselves Neeazies) retreated after this defeat to D'hunkote, near Roh, in the mountains. Sulim Shah pursued them as far as the new fort of Rohtas, which his father had built; and having directed Khwaja Veis Sheerwany to continue the pursuit, he returned by the route of Agra to Gualiar. Shoojaat Khan, governor of Malwa, on going up to the fort one day, in front of the King, was attacked by one Othman, a person whom he had deprived of his right hand some time before, and who now, concealing himself by the road-side, rushed out, and inflicted a dagger wound on Shoojaat Khan; who without further enquiry, conceiving the act had been preconcerted with the King, fled with precipitation towards Malwa with all his troops. The King pursued him as far as Mando; but hearing that he had fled to Banswalla, he returned, leaving Eesa Khan Soor, with twenty thousand horse, at Oojein, to watch his motions. A. H. 954. A. D. 1547. These events occurred in the year 954.

Khwaja Veis Sherwany having been some time

before deputed to carry on the war against the Neeazies, engaged them near D'hunkote, but was defeated by Azim Hoomayoon, and pursued as far as Nowshehra. Sulim Shah, hearing of this circumstance, sent another army against the insurgents, which compelled them in turn to retreat to D'hunkote. A third action took place at Sumballa, in which the Neeazies were overethrown with great slaughter, and Azim Hoomayoon's mother, together with all his family, were taken prisoners. After this defeat, the Neeazies were compelled to seek protection among the Gukkurs, in the mountains of Kashmere. Sulim Shah, finding that he should have little peace without effectually putting down this rebellion, marched in person to the Punjab, and for the space of two years carried on war against the united force of the Gukkurs and Neeazies.

In this expedition, a person having concealed himself one day in a narrow path, by which Sulim Shah was ascending the mountain of Mankote, rushed on him with a drawn sword. Sulim Shah had scarcely time to draw to defend himself; but having slain the assassin, he perceived the sword of the ruffian to be one that he had formerly given to Yekbal Khan, one of his own officers. The Gukkurs and Neeazies, driven from place to place, and unable to face the King's troops, Azim Hoomayoon endeavoured to enter the kingdom of Kashmere; but the ruler of that country, apprehensive of Sulim Shah's resentment, not only opposed and defeated him, but sent the heads of Azim Hoomayoon,

A. H. 955.
A. D. 1548.

his brother Syeed Khan, and Shahbaz Khan to the King. Sulim Shah, thus secure against further disturbance in that quarter, returned to Dehly.

Much about this time, Kamran Mirza, flying from his brother Hoomayoon, who was now on his march from Persia to the East, took protection with Sulim Shah; but being ill received, he retired to the mountains of Sewalik, and eventually joined the Gukkurs. Shortly after this, Sulim Shah received advices that Hoomayoon Padsha had crossed the Indus. The King, when he gained the information, was under the operation of leeches. He instantly started from his seat, and issued orders to march, and on that very evening encamped six miles distant from Dehly. He there halted for his artillery, which was drawn out by men till the oxen, which were grazing in the country, could be collected. The guns being very heavy and unwieldy, one or two thousand men were required to drag them; yet in this manner he proceeded with considerable expedition till he reached Lahore. Meanwhile Hoomayoon Padshah retreated, as we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel; and Sulim Shah, returning to Dehly, eventually retired to Gualiar, where he took up his residence.

Sulim Shah, while taking the diversion of the chase near Attehr, was waylaid by a banditti instigated by some of his enemies; but having perceived them, he was able not only to avoid, but to seize the whole band. On examination, they implicated many of his chiefs, who were executed without much investigation; after which the King became

so extremely suspicious, that numbers of officers suffered death on slight suspicions.

Khowas Khan, a man justly renowned for his personal courage, his honour, and his great abilities in war, and who had been raised to distinction by the late Sheer Shah, was driven to revolt; and, after flying from place to place, came to Taj Khan Kirany (who owed his preferment to him), and was then governor of Sumbhul. Taj Khan, in violation of a solemn oath, and of the laws of hospitality, assassinated Khowas Khan, in order to recommend himself to Sulim Shah. His corpse was, however, afterwards conveyed to Dehly, where it was interred; and such is the veneration in which the name of Khowas Khan is held, even at the present day, that his tomb is frequented, and the common people, considering him a saint, go there to offer prayers for success in their undertakings.

A. H. 957.
A. D. 1550.

Not long after this event, of which Sulim Shah was said to be the instigator, that Prince became afflicted with a fistula, of which he died, in the year 960, having reigned nine years. Like Sheer Shah, he was magnificent in his court equipage, and studied the convenience of travellers. From Bengal to the Indus he built an intermediate post-house between each of those which his father had erected, requiring that all who passed along the great road should be entertained at the public expence. In this year also died Mahmood Shah, King of Guzerat, and Boorhan Nizam Shah, King of Ahmudnuggur. In commemoration of the remarkable

A. H. 960.
A. D. 1553

circumstance of these monarchs dying almost at the same time, the father of the author wrote a short epitaph, in which the words,

زوال خسروان

"The ruin of kings,"

exhibit the date (i.e. 960.)

Among the most extraordinary events of this reign, is the insurrection produced by Sheikh Allayee. The story is as follows:—The father of Sheikh Allayee was Sheikh Hussun, who professed himself to be a holy man, in the town of Byana; but he adopted opposit tenets to those of Sheikh Sulim of Seekry. Sheikh Hussun dying, was succeeded by his eldest son, Sheikh Allayee, a person as remarkable for his ambition as for his learning. It happened that one Sheikh Abdoolla, a Neeazy Afghan, and a pupil of Sheikh Sulim, having returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca, arrived at Byana, and professed the Mehdvy doctrines of Syeed Mahomed Joonpoory. He and Sheikh Allayee becoming intimate, the latter imbibed the Mehdvy tenets, and abandoning the doctrines of his father and ancestors, quitted his house in town, and, in conformity with the practice of the Mehdvies, took up his residence outside of Byana; and with a considerable number of adherents, abandoning all worldly pursuits, gave himself up wholly to devotion, under the firm conviction of predestination. He preached daily with such persuasive eloquence, that many persons, becoming riveted to the spot, would not quit him, and abandoning

their families, became converts to his doctrines, and ranged themselves among the disciples of Syeed Mahomed Joonpoory, the founder of the sect; so that, in some instances, men employed in agriculture or trade made vows to devote one-tenth of their receipts to charity and to religious purposes.

Several instances occurred wherein fathers abandoned their children, sons, their fathers, husbands their wives, and wives their husbands, and devoted themselves to worship and retirement from the world; it being a principle among the sect to divide in common among their brethren all they possessed or received in charity. In cases where members of the sect got nothing for two or three days, they have been known to fast, resigning themselves entirely to their fate without complaint. It was there practice to go armed and in every instance where they saw any person doing what they conceived contrary to the holy law, they warned him to abstain; but if he persisted, they used to attack and put him or them to death. Many of the magistrates themselves, being Mehdvies, connived at these proceedings, and those who even did not approve, were afraid to check and to punish them. Sheikh Abdoolla, perceiving to what lengths the zeal of Sheikh Allayee had carried him, recommended him to go on pilgrimage to Mecca, by way of removing him for a time from the sect, and he accordingly left Byana with a retinue of three hundred and seventy followers. On his arrival at Khowaspoor, the famous Khowas Khan came out to meet him, and

embraced his tenets; but shortly after, disgusted with the conduct of the Mehdvies, he gave them up. Sheikh 'Allayee, considering the defection of so great a man as Khowas Khan of too much importance to be allowed to pass unnoticed, he upbraided him with his apostasy, and, giving up his intention of proceeding to Mecca, returned to Byana. On the accession of Sulim Shah, Sheikh Allayee was sent for to Agra, to be present at the coronation; but he behaved so as to offend the King, who received him with great coolness, which the holy man resenting, matters proceeded to such lengths, that Moolla Abdoolla of Sooltanpoor eventually pronounced sentence of death on Sheikh Allayee. He was tried in the presence of the King by Meer Ruffeea-ood-Deen Anjoo, Moolla Julal Danishmund, Moolla Abool Futteh Tahnesurry, and sundry other eminently learned men, to ascertain if his pertinaciously disrespectful manner to the King was consistent with his situation as a subject, or was enjoined by any precept of the Koran. Sheikh Allayee failed to plead any thing in extenuation in his defence. Sulim Shah, however, promised not only to pardon him, but to make him Mohtisab, "Censor of Morals," throughout his kingdom, provided he would abandon the Mehdvy tenets. But refusing to apostatise from his doctrines, Sulim Shah caused him to be banished to Hindia, south of the Nerbudda. Behar Khan, one of the King's officers, was governor of Hindia, and he with all his followers shortly became converted by the persuasive eloquence of Sheikh Allayee. Moolla Ab-

doolla, his inveterate foe, procured him to be sent for to Agra, where he underwent a second trial before a council of holy men, and was accused of personating the Imam Mehdy himself. Sulim Shah was informed by the same Moolla Abdoolla, that a large portion of his army, and many even of his own relations, had become the disciples of Sheikh Allayee, and he declared that the very throne was in danger. Sulim Shah, rejecting all that Moolla Abdoolla had said, sent Sheikh Allayee to Behar to be examined by Sheikh Burry, his own religious preceptor, with a determination of acting according to his opinion. Meanwhile the King went to Lahore. Sheikh Allayee, being sent to Behar, was tried and condemned by Sheikh Burry, and the sentence was submitted to the King for approval. A pestilence breaking out at this time, Sheikh Allayee was seized with the disease, and being brought before Sulim Shah, he was required to abjure his tenets; but he remained firm to the last, and having been ordered to be stripped and whipped, he died under the third lash.

Shortly after this event, which took place in the year 955, Sulim Shah died, and was succeeded by his son, the Prince Feroze, then twelve years of age who was placed on the throne by the chiefs of the tribe of Soor at Gualiar. He had not reigned three days, when Moobariz Khan, the son of Nizam Khan Soor, at once the nephew of the late Sheer Shah, and brother-in-law of Sulim Shah, assassinated the young Prince, and ascending the throne, assumed the title of Mahomed Shah Adil.

Nizam-ood-Deen Ahmud Bukshy states, in his history of Akbur, that Sulim Shah frequently told his wife, Beeby Bye, if she had any affection for her child Feroze, to consent to the execution of her brother Moobariz Khan, or she might rely on his putting his nephew to death on the first opportunity. She always replied, "My brother is "too fond of dissipation and pleasure to encumber "himself with the load of anxiety which belongs "to a King." But it happened otherwise; for on the third day after the death of Sulim Shah, Moobariz Khan, having entered the female apartments, slew with his own hand the unhappy Prince, whom he dragged from the arms of his mother, Beeby Bye, his own sister.

MAHOMED SHAH SOOR ADILY.

Moobariz assumes the title of Mahomed Shah—some account of his vices and character.—Hemoo, a Hindoo retail shopkeeper, is raised to the office of minister.—Disaffection prevalent at court.—Taj Khan Kirrany quits the court, and raises an army.—IbrahimKhan Soor also raises troops, and assumes the title of king.—Mahomed Soor marches to attack Ibrahim—consents to divide the kingdom, and quits Dehly.—Ahmud Khan, a nephew of Sheer Shah, disputes the right of both kings, and assumes the title of Sikundur Shah.

As soon as Moobariz Khan had secured the musnud of the dynasty of Soor, he assumed the title of Aadil Shah; but the lower orders of the people having rejected the letter *a* in the beginning, and added the letter *y* to the end of the word, were in the habit of calling him Adily, by which name he is known to posterity. Adily having always devoted himself to pleasure, neglected even the common acquirements of reading and writing. He hated men of learning, and kept company with illiterate persons like himself, whom he raised to the highest dignities in the state; among whom, one Hemoo, an Indian shopkeeper, whom his predecessor Sulim Shah had made superintendent of the markets, was intrusted with the whole administration of affairs.

A. H. 960. A. D. 1552. The King, in the mean time, heedless of what passed, spent his time in excess

among the inmates of his haram. Having often heard much in praise of the munificence of former kings, particularly of Mahomed Toghluk, and mistaking prodigality for liberality, he opened the treasury, and lavished riches on all ranks without distinction. As he rode out, he discharged amongst the multitude golden-headed arrows, which sold for ten or twelve rupees each. This wanton extravagance soon left him without any of the treasure of his predecessors; and the people gave him the nickname of Andly, which in the Indian language signifies, equally, one who is blind, or who, acting as such, evinces himself a fool.

When Hemoo found himself invested with the whole executive power of the state, his pride and insolence (though formerly a man of sense) knew no bounds. This naturally created him enemies among the Afghan chiefs, who, having conspired against his life, revolted from his authority. The King became daily more and more despicable in the eyes of his subjects, while all regularity in the government ceased. One day, during a public audience, he began to distribute estates and governments to his chiefs; among others, he ordered the province of Kunowj to be taken from Mahomed Khan Firmully, and to be given to Surmust Khan Surrabunny. Sikundur Khan, the son of Mahomed Khan, a brave young man, being present, said aloud to the King, "Is my estate then to be conferred on "a seller of dogs?" Mahomed Khan Firmully, who was present, endeavoured to check the impetuosity of his son; but he only inflamed his

passion the more. He charged the King in plain terms with a design to extirpate his family. Surmust Khan, to whom the estate had been given, and who was a man of uncommon strength and stature, seized Sikundur Khan by the throat; but that young man, drawing his dagger, stabbed him to the heart, and laid him dead at his feet. Perceiving the desperate situation in which he stood, he attacked all those who endeavoured to oppose him, killing several chiefs, and wounding others. He next attacked the king himself, who, leaping from the throne, ran into the seraglio, and on Sikundur Khan's pursuing him, shut the door in his face, which stopped his progress, and enabled Mahomed Shah to draw the bolt and secure himself. The desperate youth, finding himself disappointed, rushed back into the audience-chamber, and dealt death on all sides, till at length Ibrahim Khan Soor, the King's cousin and brother-in-law, attacking Sikundur Khan with some soldiers, they cut him to pieces. Dowlut Khan Lohany with his own hand slew Mahomed Khan Firmully, the youth's father, though he could not be responsible for his son's rashness. It is said that Mahomed Khan Firmully having met Taj Khan Kirrany on that day, on his way to the audience-chamber, asked him whither he was going; to which the other replied, "that affairs had taken such an extra-"ordinary turn at court, that he was determined "to push his fortune, and would be glad that Ma-"homed Khan Firmully would share it with him." Mahomed Khan Firmully answered, "That he

A. H. 961.
A. D. 1553

"aspired to no higher fortune than what he possessed, for which he was as usual about to pay "his respects;" but such as we have seen was his reward. Taj Khan, as soon as he left the fort, took the route of Bengal, with all his dependents. Troops were despatched in pursuit, and came up with him at Chibra Mow, about eight miles from Agra; but he defended himself so ably, that he contrived to ensure a safe retreat to Chunar. In his progress, he seized the public money and other effects belonging to the crown, and gave away an hundred elephants to his brethren and others of his tribe, who held lands in the province of Khowaspoor Tanda. By their aid he collected a formidable army, which obliged the King to take the field in person; and the insurgents meeting him on the banks of the Ganges above Chunar, were defeated and dispersed.

The King, however, becoming jealous of the popularity of Ibrahim Khan Soor, his brother-in-law, gave private orders to seize him. His wife, the King's sister, hearing of his design, acquainted her husband, who fled from Chunar to his father, Ghazy Khan, governor of Hindown. He was pursued by Eesa Khan Neeazy, and overtaken at Kalpy, where an engagement ensued, in which Eesa Khan, being defeated, was compelled to relinquish all further pursuit. Ibrahim Khan, rendered desperate, soon after raised a considerable army, and, getting possession of the city of Dehly, ascended the throne, and assumed the ensigns of royalty. From thence he marched to Agra, and reduced the circumjacent provinces.

Mahomed Shah Adily returned from Chunar to suppress this usurpation. On the road thither, he received a deputation from Ibrahim Khan Soor, promising that, if the King would send Hoossein Khan and other chiefs with assurances of forgiveness, he would submit. The King complied with this request, and Ibrahim Khan prevailed on them by presents, by promises, and by address, to espouse his cause. Mahomed Shah Adily, finding himself betrayed, fled to Chunar, and contented himself with the government of the eastern provinces, while Ibrahim Khan retained possession of the western territory.

Ibrahim Khan no sooner ascended the throne of Dehly, than another competitor arose in the province of Punjab, in the person of the Prince Ahmud Khan, another nephew of the late Sheer Shah, whose sister was married to Mahomed Shah Adily. Ahmud Khan, having procured the aid of Heibut Khan and other chiefs, who had been created nobles by the late Sulim Shah, assumed the title of Sikundur Shah, and marching with ten or twelve thousand horse towards Agra, encamped at Kurra, within twenty miles of that city. Ibrahim Khan opposed him with seventy thousand horse; and some notion of the splendour of his train may be formed when it is stated that no less than two hundred officers occupied tents lined with velvet, each having the privilege of beating the nobut.*

* Musical band, composed of nine instruments, confined to kings, but conferred by them on governors, to be used only in their governments, and in the absence of any of the royal family.

Sikundur Shah, seeing this formidable army, began to repent, and made overtures for peace, merely requiring to be allowed to retain Punjab. Ibrahim, elated with his own apparent superiority, refused to listen to terms, and both armies engaged. Sikundur Khan intrusted the ensigns of royalty to one of his officers, and remained during the action with a select body of horse in a grove at some distance. Ibrahim Khan in the onset broke through the enemy's army; but his troops having quitted their ranks and engaged in plunder, Sikundur Khan took advantage of it to rush upon them, and creating a panic in the army of Ibrahim Khan, his troops dispersed, and were defeated. Ibrahim Khan, abandoning his capital, retreated to Sumbhul; while Sikundur Khan took possession both of Agra and Dehly. He had not long enjoyed his good fortune, however, when he was obliged to repair to Punjab, to oppose Hoomayoon Padshah, who, having returned from a long exile, was now advancing to recover his dominions. During the absence of Sikundur, Ibrahim Khan marched to Kalpy, while at the same time Mahomed Shah Adily detached his Vizier Hemoo, with an army well appointed in cavalry, elephants, and artillery, from Chunar, with a view to recover the western empire. Hemoo attacked Ibrahim Shah at Kalpy, and having defeated him, he was compelled to fly to his father at Byana, pursued by Hemoo, who besieged him in that city for three months.

Meanwhile, Mahomed Shah Soor, ruler of Bengal, asserted his rights, and led an army against

Mahomed Shah Adily. This circumstance obliged that Prince to recal Hemoo from the siege of Byana; and Ibrahim Khan, emboldened by his retreat, pursued him till he overtook him near Agra; but being again defeated, he was compelled to rejoin his father at Byana. The restless spirit of Ibrahim Khan now induced him to march towards Punna, where having engaged the Raja Ramchunder, he was defeated and taken prisoner. He was treated, however, with the utmost respect, till the Afghans of Meeana interposing, obtained his release, and acknowledged him their leader. Under him these Afghans engaged in war with Baz Bahadur, ruler of Malwa, who had declared his independence; but the ill fortune of Ibrahim Khan still pursued him. He was again defeated, and fled to Orissa, where in the year 975, that province being occupied by Sooliman Kirany, one of the generals of the Emperor Akbur, Ibrahim Khan was made prisoner, and suffered an ignominious death.

A. H. 962.
A. D. 1554.

Hemoo joined his master Mahomed Shah Adily at Chunar, where he received advices that the Emperor Hoomayoon, having defeated Sikundur Khan, had occupied Dehly and Agra. Hemoo, however, still pursued the war against Mahomed Shah Soor of Bengal, who, avoiding him by crossing the hills near Rohtas, entered the country of Bundelcund, whither being pursued by Hemoo, the two armies came to action at the village of Chupurg'hutta, thirty miles from Kalpy, and

Mahomed Shah Soor of Bengal was slain. Mahomed Shah Adily, after this victory, instead of proceeding to Agra, returned to Chunar, to assemble more troops in order to carry on the war against Hoomayoon; but he was soon after informed of that monarch's death, which induced him to detach Hemoo, with fifty thousand horse and five hundred elephants towards Agra, not daring to leave Chunar himself, on account of the factions which prevailed among his countrymen the Afghans.

Hemoo, arriving before Agra, the Mogul nobles who were there, conceiving themselves too weak to oppose him, retreated to Dehly, whither he pursued them. Tardy Beg Khan, governor of Dehly, gave him battle, but was defeated, and fled to the Punjab, leaving Hemoo in possession both of Agra and of Dehly. Hemoo now prepared to proceed to Lahore; but Beiram Khan Toorkoman, who had been left by the will of Hoomayoon guardian of his son Akbur, detached Khan Zuman Khan towards Dehly, himself following with the young King. Hemoo met the Moguls on the plains of Paniput, and charging them with the utmost valour, threw them into confusion; but the Afghans, as usual, abandoning themselves to plunder, were in their turn attacked by the Moguls, and totally defeated. Hemoo, their general, was taken prisoner, and being carried before Akbur, suffered death.

After the death of this chieftain, the fortunes of Mahomed Shah Adily declined daily. Khizr

Khan, the son of Mahomed Shah Poorby of Bengal, in order to revenge the death of his father, slain in the battle of Kalpy, raised an army, and, assuming the title of Bahadur Shah, wrested by force a great part of the eastern provinces out of the hands of Mahomed Shah Adily, whom he eventually defeated and slew.

SIKUNDUR SHAH SOOR.

Requires the Afghans to elect a king—they create him their sovereign—he marches to oppose Hoomayoon, now on his way to India.—Sikundur Shah defeated by Beiram Khan Toorkoman, and retires to Bengal, where he establishes his power.

A. H. 962.
A. D. 1554.

SIKUNDUR SOOR, after having ascended the throne at Agra, in the year 962, made a magnificent festival, and calling together all his chiefs, spoke to them to this effect: "I esteem myself as one of you: having "thus far acted for the commonweal, I claim no "superiority. Bheilole raised the tribe of Lody to "glory and reputation; Sheer Shah rendered the "tribe of Soor illustrious; and now Hoomayoon, "the Mogul, heir to his father's conquests, is "watching an opportunity to destroy us all, and "to re-establish his government. If, therefore, "you are sincere, and will set aside private "faction and animosities, we may still retain our "kingdom; but if you think me incapable of rule, "let an abler head and a stronger arm be elected "from among you, that I also may swear allegiance "to him: I promise most faithfully to support him, "and will endeavour to maintain the kingdom in "the hands of the Afghans, who have retained it "by their valour for so many years." The Afghan chiefs, after this appeal, answered with one accord,

"We unanimously acknowledge you, the nephew "of our Emperor Sheer Shah, our lawful sovereign." Calling then for a koran, all swore both to observe allegiance to Sikundur, and to maintain unanimity among themselves. In a few days, however, the chiefs began to dispute about governments, honours, and places, and the flames of discord were rekindled, and blazed fiercer than ever, so that every one reproached his neighbour with the perfidy of which each was equally guilty. Meanwhile Hoomayoon having marched from Kabul towards the Indus, Tartar Khan, who commanded in Punjab, fled from the new fort of Rohtas to Dehly, and the Moguls occupied without opposition all the country as far as Lahore. Sikundur Shah, on receiving these advices, detached forty thousand horse, under Tartar Khan and Heibut Khan, to oppose the Moguls; but this army being defeated, not only lost all its elephants and baggage, but the fugitives never drew rein till they arrived at Dehly. Sikundur Shah, though sensible of the disaffection and factious disposition of his chiefs, marched with eight thousand horse towards Punjab, and on engaging Beiram Khan, the tutor of the Prince Akbur, near Surhind, was defeated and fled to the Sewalik mountains, from whence he was expelled and sought refuge in Bengal, where he assumed the reins of government, and shortly after died. He was succeeded by Taj Khan Kirrany, and the remainder of his history is detailed in that of the dynasty of the Poorby Kings.

HOOMAYOON PADSHAH.

(HIS SECOND REIGN.)

Hoomayoon is favourably received at the court of Persia—is supplied with an army to recover his dominions—takes Khorasan.—Overtures for a reconciliation with Kamran at Kabul rejected.—Kandahar defended by Askurry, but is taken.—Askurry is pardoned.—Kandahar made over to Beiram Khan Toorkoman.—Hoomayoon is joined by his brother Hindal, and by his cousin Yadgar Mirza—besieges Kabul.—Kamran evacuates Kabul, and flies.—Yadgar Mirza suffers death.—Hoomayoon proceeds to take Budukhshan.—Kabul reoccupied by Kamran—retaken by Hoomayoon.—Kamran takes the field, and is defeated by Hoomayoon.—The brothers are reconciled.—Hoomayoon is expelled from Budukhshan and Bulkh by the Oozbuks.—Kamran and Askurry go into rebellion—they are defeated.—Kamran flies to India—is seized by the Gukkurs in Punjab, and delivered over to Hoomayoon—is deprived of sight, and retires to Mecca.—Hoomayoon invades India—his general, Beiram Khan Toorkoman, defeats Sikundur Shah Soor, and advances to Dehly.—A second battle, in which Sikundur Shah is defeated, and flies to Bengal.—Hoomayoon in full possession of the kingdom of Dehly—falls from the terrace of his palace, and is killed.

We have already seen that Hoomayoon, having arrived at Kuzween in Persia, deputed Ameer Beiram Khan to the Persian court at Ispahan. That chieftain, accordingly, having waited on Shah Tamasp at the palace of Nilak, between the cities of Abhur and Sooltania, received an answer

indicating the King's wish to have an interview with Hoomayoon. The royal fugitive accepted the
Jumad-ool-Awul, A.H. 951. A.D. 1544.
invitation with joy, and in the month of Jumad-ool-Awul, in the year 951, he was honourably received by Shah Tamasp, the son of Shah Ismael Sufvy, and was entertained with becoming dignity.

Shah Tamasp one day in conversation asked Hoomayoon by what means his weak enemy became so powerful? Hoomayoon replied, "By "the enmity of my brothers." The Persian monarch then told him, "Your manner of treating "brothers is not such as they ought to experience." This conversation occurred one day while the Kings were at dinner, and as soon as they had finished, the Prince Beiram Mirza, brother to Shah Tamasp, approached the latter with a basin and ewer for him to wash his hands. This ceremony being over, he turned to Hoomayoon, and resuming the discourse said, "This is the way you "ought to have treated your brothers." Hoomayoon, out of compliment to the King, immediately assented, which so much offended the Prince Beiram Mirza, that he never forgave him while he resided at court: on the contrary, he took every opportunity to calumniate Hoomayoon, and frequently hinted that it was by no means the interest of Persia that a prince of the house of Teimoor should sit on the Indian throne. This opinion Beiram Mirza inculcated into all who had the
A. H. 952. A. D. 1545.
King's ear, and it is believed by this means the prospects of Hoomayoon were

so much injured, that he was at one time apprehensive of his life or of suffering imprisonment.

Meanwhile Sooltana Begum, the King's sister, and Kazy Jehan Kuzveeny, as also Noor-ood-Deen Hukeem, one of the King's privy counsellors, taking compassion on Hoomayoon's situation, united to effect a reconciliation, and to reinstate him in the favour of Shah Tamasp. The wit of the Sooltana was exerted on this occasion, who having presented the King with a copy of verses of her own composing, introduced the name of Hoomayoon, and extolled his devotion to Ally. Shah Tamasp, who was a zealous Sheea, a sect which differs from the Soonnies, in whose tenets Hoomayoon had been brought up, conceiving hopes of converting his guest, told his sister at the time, that if Hoomayoon could be brought to embrace and to enforce the Sheea doctrines in India, he would assist him to recover his empire. The Sooltana having acquainted Hoomayoon with these particulars, he assented, observing, "That "he had always privately been well disposed to the "Sheeas, out of which had partly originated the "animosity of his brothers."

Shah Tamasp, soon after, in a private conference with Ameer Beiram Khan Toorkoman, enquired particularly as to the political condition of Hindoostan, and promised that his son Moorad Mirza (then an infant), with his general Boodagh Khan Kajar, should accompany Hoomayoon with ten thousand horse to attack and expel his brothers out of Kabul, Kandahar, and Budukhshan. Orders

having been given for the requisite preparations, Hoomayoon took leave of Shah Tamasp. In the meanwhile, Hoomayoon requested to be allowed to make a tour through Tubreez and Ardbeel, to visit the tomb of Sheikh Suffy previously to proceeding on his expedition. To this the King assented, and gave orders to all governors through whose territories Hoomayoon passed to supply him with all necessaries, and to treat him in a manner becoming his rank. Hoomayoon, having performed this journey, joined the young Prince Moorad Mirza, with whom he proceeded towards Kandahar. Having, in the first instance, reduced the fort of Gurmseer,* he caused the khootba to be read in his own name. Askurry Mirza, who governed the province for the Prince Kamran Mirza, on hearing of the approach of Hoomayoon, sent the young Prince Akbur to his uncle at Kabul, and prepared the fort of Kandahar to stand a siege.

Mohurrum 7. A. H. 952. March 21. A. D. 1545.

Hoomayoon invested Kandahar on the 7th of Mohurrum, in the year 952. The siege lasted for six months, when he deputed Beiram Khan Toorkoman to wait on Kamran Mirza, then at Kabul. The Hazaras attacked Beiram Khan on the road; but they were defeated, and that chief obtaining an audience of Kamran, demanded the cession of Kandahar and its dependencies, at the same time requiring an unqualified

* My acquaintance with the geography of Persia does not enable me to say whether we should read A *fort of the summer climate*, or the fort of Gurmseer, properly so called. *Translator.*

resignation of all the provinces which he had usurped. Kamran refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Hoomayoon, and his messenger returned without effecting his object.

The Persian troops with Hoomayoon now began to evince great impatience at the length of the siege of Kandahar, and to show discontent at being commanded by Moguls. These circumstances might have injured Hoomayoon seriously, had he not been joined at this time by several of his old officers, such as Mahomed Sooltan Mirza, Alugh Mirza, Kasim Hoossein Sooltan, Mirza Meeruk, Sheer Afkun Beg, Fuzeel Beg, and others, who, having quarrelled with Kamran Mirza, left his service. This opportune assistance did not come alone, for a part of the garrison of Kandahar at the same time also deserted, and joined him. These circumstances revived the spirits of Hoomayoon's army in proportion as they depressed those of the besieged, so that Askurry Mirza proposed to capitulate. Honourable terms were granted, the place surrendered, and Askurry Mirza received pardon for his former defection.

The fort of Kandahar, according to stipulation, was delivered over to the infant Persian prince Moorad Mirza, who, as the winter had set in, together with his generals, Boodagh Khan Afshar, Abool Futteh Sooltan Afshar, Soofy Wully, and Ahmud Sooltan Shamloo, took up their quarters in the fort, but refused admittance to the Mogul troops. This conduct created so much jealousy, that several of Hoomayoon's officers deserted him, and went to Kabul: among others, was

Askurry Mirza, who, being suspected of disaffection, was pursued and brought back prisoner.

Hoomayoon, finding a state of inaction unpropitious to his affairs, marched towards Kabul; but hearing on the road of the death of the Persian prince Moorad Mirza at Kandahar, he returned, in order to obtain possession of the fort, as a place of security till he should make further conquest. The Persian generals refused to cede it, but Hoomayoon resolved if possible to secure it, and urged Beiram Khan Toorkoman, Alugh Mirza, and Hajy Mahomed to contrive some project for effecting this object. Hajy Mahomed Khan, and a few enterprising men, disguised like camel-drivers, having gained admission into the fort among some camels which were supplying it with provisions, fell upon the guards at the gates, and overpowered them, while Beiram Khan and Alugh Mirza rushing in at the same time, with a chosen body of horse, secured the fort. The Persian general, whose life was spared, returned by Hoomayoon's permission to Persia, and Beiram Khan was appointed to the government of Kandahar.

Hoomayoon instantly marched to Kabul, where he was joined by his brother Hindal Mirza, and by his cousin Yadgar, the son of Nasir Mirza, brother of Babur, who having fled from Shah Hoossein Arghoon in Sind, now arrived at Kabul. Hoomayoon encamped in the environs of the city, in sight of the army of his brother Kamran Mirza, and was every day joined by some

deserters from him: among others was Kaplan Beg, one of Kamran Mirza's principal generals, who coming over with his adherents, so much weakened the power of his master, that Kamran was compelled to retire within the town, which he shortly after evacuated without fighting, and fled to Ghizny. The King sent the prince Hindal

Rumzan 10. Mirza in pursuit, and on the 10th of
A. H. 952. Rumzan, 952, entered Kabul, where
October 26. he found his son Akbur, then four
A. D. 1545. years old, with his mother, the Begum.

Taking up his boy in his arms, he exclaimed, "Joseph by his envious brethren was cast into a "well; but he was eventually exalted by Provi- "dence, as thou shalt be, to the summit of "glory."

Kamran Mirza found the gates of Ghizny shut against him, and was compelled to seek refuge at Zemeen Dawur, among the Hazaras; but being ill received, he went to Bhukkur, to Shah Hoossein Arghoon, who conferred on him his daughter in marriage, and prepared to support his cause. Hoomayoon meanwhile left his son Akbur in Kabul, under the charge of Mahomed Ally Toghay, and

A. H. 953. marched in person, in the year 953,
A. D. 1546. to reduce Budukhshan; while Yadgar

Nasir Mirza, being convicted of an attempt to stir up a sedition in the army, suffered death.

Hoomayoon, having passed the Hindoo Koosh, and encamped at Teergiran, was opposed by Sooliman Mirza with the forces of Budukhshan, who was defeated in the very first charge. The King

marched from thence to Talikhan, where, having fallen sick, factions broke out in his army; but on his recovering at the end of two months, they soon subsided.

Kamran Mirza, having heard of Hoomayoon's attack on Budukhshan, made an excursion to Ghorebund, and falling in with a caravan of merchants on the road, robbed them of their camels, horses, and goods; after which, coming to Ghizny, he raised a party in his favour in that city, and cut off the governor, Zahid Beg. From Ghizny he proceeded by rapid marches to Kabul, where having arrived as the guards were opening the gates in the morning, he took the place by surprise. Mahomed Ally Toghay, the governor, was killed as he stood in his bath; and Fuzeel Beg and Mutroo, the Prince Akbur's foster brothers, were deprived of sight. Hissam-ood-Deen Ally, the son of Meer Khuleefa, was put to death, and the Prince Akbur delivered over to the charge of some eunuchs.

Intelligence of these transactions reaching Hoomayoon, he intrusted the government of Budukhshan to Sooliman Mirza, and that of Koondooz to his brother Hindal Mirza: himself returning to Kabul, where having first defeated the advanced guard of Kamran Mirza, which opposed him at Ghorebund, he fell in subsequently with Sheer Afkun Beg and the main body, encamped at some distance in the rear. This army was also overthrown, and Sheer Afkun Beg fell in the action. Hoomayoon now proceeded to Kabul, and

having sat down before that city, daily skirmishes ensued with the enemy. Kamran Mirza, hearing of a caravan passing, in which was a number of fine horses, he detached Sheer Ally Beg with a strong party to seize and bring it into the city. Hoomayoon gained intelligence of this design, and marched round the walls, to cut off Sheer Ally Beg's retreat, who was attacked and defeated with great loss. In this state of affairs, the Prince Sooliman Mirza from Budukhshan, Alugh Mirza, and Kasim Hoossein Sooltan, with several officers detached by Beiram Khan, the governor of Kandahar, as reinforcements, joined Hoomayoon, while Kurrachar Khan and Ooloos Beg, having deserted from the city, joined his army. Kamran Mirza, exasperated at the defection of these two officers, murdered the three sons of Ooloos Beg, and threw their mangled bodies over the walls; he also bound Kurrachar Khan's only son to a stake, and exposed him on the battlements. Hoomayoon gave his brothers to understand that if they put Kurrachar Khan's son to death, they should both suffer the same fate if taken. Kamran was in consequence deterred from his intended cruelty, and on that very night he evacuated the place, and fled towards the hills, leaving Hoomayoon a second time at liberty to take quiet possession of Kabul. On his retreat, Kamran Mirza was plundered and stripped of his very clothes by the Hazaras; but when they knew him, they conducted him in safety to Ghorebund. Not conceiving himself safe among them, he hastened to Bulkh, where Peer Mahomed Khan, governor of that city, rendered him assistance in subduing Budukhshan,

on which occasion they expelled the troops of Sooliman Mirza and his son Ibrahim.

Kurrachar Khan, Ooolos Beg, and some other officers, being about this time offended with Khwaja Ghazy, Hoomayoon's vizier, insisted on his being disgraced, and on Kasim Hoossein Sooltan being appointed to his office. Hoomayoon, satisfied with the conduct of his minister, refused to accede to this demand, which induced them to desert Hoomayoon and to join Askurry Mirza, who had united with Kamran at Budukhshan. The King went in pursuit of the renegades; but being unable to overtake them, he returned to Kabul, and recalled Ibrahim Mirza and Hindal Mirza to court. On his way to join Hoomayoon, Ibrahim Mirza falling in by accident with Kumur Ally Sufvy, one of the renegade chiefs, cut him off, and brought his head to the King; and Hindal Mirza meeting with Sheer Ally, another of the same party, made him prisoner.

Meanwhile Kamran Mirza left Kurrachar Khan in Kooshoom, and went in person to Talikhan. Hoomayoon hearing of this arrangement, detached Hindal Mirza and Hajy Mahomed Koka, with a considerable force, to expel Kurrachar Khan; but he obtained intelligence of their approach, and acquainted Kamran Mirza in time to defeat their purpose; for by making rapid marches to Kooshoom, Kamran intercepted Hindal in the act of crossing the river at Talikhan. Hindal's troops being separated, he was defeated, and a great part of his division destroyed, with the loss of all his baggage.

Hoomayoon, however, having in a few days advanced with his army from Kabul to support Hindal, Kamran fell back on Talikhan in such disorder as to be obliged to abandon all his booty and baggage; and on the following day found himself closely invested in Talikhan. Thus reduced to extremities, and despairing of aid from the Oozbuks, to whom he had applied, Kamran Mirza requested his brother's permission to retire from public life, and go on pilgrimage to Mecca. Hoomayoon consented; but both Kamran Mirza and Askurry Mirza proceeded only about ten parasangs on their way, when finding that Hoomayoon did not send troops to seize them, they repented of their resolution, and, trusting to his generosity, returned to their brother's camp, and threw themselves on his clemency. The King, on hearing of their approach, sent persons to meet them, and, on their arrival, treated them with every respect; after which they returned together to Kabul. In the year 956, Peer Mahomed Khan, the ruler of the Oozbuks, having made some incursions into Hoomayoon's dominions the latter marched towards Bulkh to oppose them.

A. H. 956.
A. D. 1549.

On this occasion both Kamran Mirza and Askurry Mirza, who accompanied him, began to excite disaffection amongst his troops; but Hoomayoon took no effectual steps to prevent their designs. Arriving in the environs of Bulkh, Shah Mahomed Sooltan Oozbuk opposed Hoomayoon with three thousand horse, and checked his progress. On the second day the Oozbuks, being joined by Peer Mahomed Khan, Abdool Azeez Khan, the son of

Abdoolla Khan Oozbuk, and the Princes of Khoozar, mustered thirty thousand horse, with which they gave battle to Hoomayoon. Sooliman Mirza, Hindal Mirza, and Hajy Mahomed Koka opposed and defeated the advanced parties of the Oozbuks, and even pressed Peer Mahomed Khan so severely, that he was compelled to retreat within the walls of Bulkh.

The King, desirous of following up the blow, wished to lay close siege to the place; but on this occasion he suffered his own judgment to be over-ruled by some of his generals, who, being suspicious of Kamran Mirza, advised him to encamp at some distance from Bulkh, which, they concluded, must surrender in the course of a few days. This fatal advice was accordingly adopted, and there being no encamping ground near, the King was obliged to fall back to a considerable distance. The troops, unable to conceive the cause of retreating, fancied there must be immediate danger; while the enemy, construing the retrograde movement into a real flight, sallied, and by this mistake led to the disaster which followed. The Oozbuks fell on the divisions of Sooliman Mirza and Hoossein Koolly Sooltan, who commanded the rear-guard, and forced them to retire on the main body, where the King commanded in person. Hoomayoon bravely opposed them hand to hand, and coming in contact with the Oozbuk officer who led the attack, dismounted him. He was gallantly supported by his brother, Hindal Miza, Tardy Beg Khan, and Tooluk Khan

Kocheen; but finding themselves deserted by the troops, they were reluctantly compelled to save themselves by flight.

After this unfortunate affair Hoomayoon retreated to Kabul, on the road to which place he was deserted by Kamran Mirza, who had taken no part in the action. Hoomayoon, justly resenting the conduct of his brother, wrote to Ally Sheer Khan, one of Kamran's officers, making him great promises to seize his master, and send him prisoner to court; at the same time, he detached Sooliman Mirza and Hindal Mirza in pursuit. Kamran laid aside his state, and intended to escape by the route of Zohak and Bamyan, through the desert of the Hazaras towards Sind; but Kurrachar Khan and Hoossein Koolly Sooltan, who remained in Hoomayoon's camp, wrote to him privately, and acquainted him with all that passed at the King's court. As the greatest part of Hoomayoon's troops were detached from his person, these officers advised Kamran to attack Hoomayoon, promising to join him in the action. Kamran, availing himself of these overtures, returned by the Kupchak pass to Kabul, where he was opposed by Hoomayoon. Kurrachar Khan and his adherents went over to Kamran Mirza in the commencement of the action, according to their promise, and attacked the division in which Hoomayoon commanded, who with a few faithful retainers fought with desperation. Peer Mohamed Akta and Ahmud, the son of Hoossein Koolly Sooltan, were killed by the side of the King, who himself received a sabre wound in the head. At this time, too, his horse failing him, he was

forced to quit the field, and fled to Bamyan, from whence he proceeded to Budukhshan. Kamran Mirza thus obtained possession of Kabul the third time.

Hoomayoon was now in great distress for money to pay the few troops who adhered to him, and was obliged to borrow the horses, camels, and merchandise of some great caravans, with which he mounted his cavalry, and paid his troops. He also sent privately Shah Bodagh Khan, Tooluk Khan Kocheen, Mujnoon Khan, and others, to the number of ten persons, to support his interest at Kabul, and to send him intelligence of what passed in that city. Of all these persons, Tooluk Khan alone remained true to him. Meanwhile, Sooliman Mirza, Ibrahim Mirza, and Hindal Mirza, who had gone in pursuit of Kamran, returned with their troops to join the King, who in about forty days found himself in a condition to make an attempt again to recover his kingdom; for which purpose he marched towards Kabul. Kamran Mirza opposed him on the banks of the Punjur river; but being defeated with great slaughter, he shaved his head and beard, and escaped in the disguise of a mendicant to the mountains of Lumghan. Askurry Mirza was taken prisoner, and Kurrachar Khan fell in the battle. This victory once more enabled Hoomayoon to enter Kabul in triumph. Here he devoted himslf to pleasure for one whole year, when he was roused by intelligence that Kamran Mirza was again in his vicinity, at the head of fifteen hundred horse, while some of his officers,

leaving him, went to Ghizny. Hoomayoon now marched against Kamran, who fled to the Indus; and the former returned without effecting any other object. Kamran, hearing of his brother's retreat, returned among the Meimundy Afghans, where he was shortly afterwards joined by parties of Khuleelzies and Dawoodzies from Lumghan. Hoomayoon again took the field; and wrote to Beiram Khan Toorkoman, who still held the government of Kandahar, to march and seize those officers who had retired to Ghizny; for it appears they had invited Kamran Mirza to join them, for which purpose he was now marching by
A. H. 958.
A. D. 1551.
the route of Pishawur, Bungush, and Goordaz. Beiram Khan, however, having reached Ghizny before Kamran, conciliated the chiefs, and brought them to Kabul; and Kamran being disappointed of his expected succours, retired to Pishawur, while Hoomayoon proceeded to Kabul. Before his arrival, Hajy Mahomed Koka, one of the disaffected chiefs, found means to escape to Ghizny, from whence he was persuaded to return.

At this time Askurry Mirza preferred a petition to the King, soliciting his release from prison, and permission to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca. He was sent for the present, by way of greater security, to Sooliman Mirza, governor of Budukhshan; but his request was subsequently acceded to, and he died in the year 961 (A. D. 1554), on his way across the deserts of Arabia. He left one daughter, who was afterwards married to Yoossoof Khan, an inhabitant of Mushed.

Kamran Mirza continued to raise troops among the Afghans, and maintained a private correspondence with Hajy Mahomed Koka at Ghizny. This correspondence being detected, the Hajy suffered death. Hoomayoon again marched against Kamran Mirza; but was surprised in his camp near Khybur, in a night attack, on the 21st of Zeekaad 958, on which occasion Hindal Mirza lost his life. Kamran gained little advantage by this accident; for being subsequently defeated, he was obliged to seek shelter among the Afghans. After this success, Hoomayoon returned to Kabul, and out of affection to the memory of Hindal Mirza, who had expiated his former disobedience by his blood, he gave the daughter of that Prince, Ruzeea Sooltana, to his son Akbur in marriage. He conferred on them at the same time all the wealth of Hindal, and appointed Akbur to the command of his uncle's troops, and to the government of Ghizny.

Zeekaad 21. A. H. 958. Nov. 19. A. D. 1551.

A few months after these events, the Afghans again rose in favour of Kamran Mirza; but Hoomayoon invaded their country, and laid it waste with fire and sword, till they abandoned Kamran's cause, and expelled him from their country.

Kamran, now flying to Hindoostan, was induced to solicit an asylum with Sulim Shah Soor; but meeting with a cold reception there, he departed from the court of Dehly, and sought protection from the Raja of Nagrakote: being expelled thence also, he joined Sooltan Adam Gukkur in the Punjab.

At this period, one Mirza Heidur Doghlat reigned in Kashmeer, who requested the assistance of Hoomayoon in quelling some disturbances in his kingdom. Hoomayoon, accordingly, marching towards India, crossed the Indus. On this occasion, Sooltan Adam Gukkur, apprehensive of Hoomayoon's resentment in case he afforded protection to Kamran, seized that Prince, and acquainted Hoomayoon he was ready to deliver him into his hands. Moonyim Khan was deputed to Sooltan Adam for the purpose of receiving him, and Kamran was accordingly brought to the royal presence.

The Mogul chiefs were all of opinion that he should suffer death, in order to prevent further disturbances in the government; but Hoomayoon, unwilling to stain his hands in his brother's blood, was content to deprive him of sight. Some days after the sentence was carried into effect, Hoomayoon went to see him. Kamran immediately arose, and walking some steps forward to meet him, said, "The glory "of the King will not be diminished by visiting "the unfortunate." Hoomayoon burst into tears, and wept bitterly. Kamran Mirza eventually obtained permission to proceed to Mecca, by the way of Sind, and having resided there three years, died a natural death in the year 964. (A. D. 1556). He left three daughters and one son, Abool Kasim Mirza, who, some time after his father's decease, was put to death by order of Akbur, in the fort of Gualiar.

A. H. 959. A. D. 1552.

Hoomayoon, being now free from the restless

spirit of Kamran Mirza, began to extend his dominions, and turned his thoughts towards Kashmeer. Sulim Shah Shoor, the King of Dehly, hearing of this, advanced to the Indus; and Hoomayoon's officers represented to him, that, if he should enter Kashmeer, there being but one pass by which he could retreat, Sulim Shah might cut him off. Hoomayoon, deaf to their representations, persisted in his resolution; but a mutiny arose in his army, and the greater part of his officers refused to proceed, while others actually returned to Kabul. Hoomayoon was consequently compelled to give up his purpose, and recrossed the Indus. On his retreat, he caused the fort of Bikram to be built, wherein he left a garrison under Sikundur Khan Oozbuk.

The King, having arrived in Kabul, sent his son Akbur to his government of Ghizny, under the charge of Julal-ood-Deen Mahomed, Vizier. In the year 961, the King had another son born to him at Kabul, whom he named Mahomed Hukeem Mirza, an account of whom will appear in the reign of Akbur.

A. H. 961.
A. D. 1553.

In the course of this year, Hoomayoon became jealous of Beiram Khan, owing to the calumny of some of his courtiers. They stated that he was carrying on intrigues with the Persian government, and the King thought it necessary to march to Kandahar. Beiram Khan, conscious of his innocence, came out when he heard of his approach, with five or six attendants only, to congratulate Hoomayoon on his arrival, and to lay his offerings

at his feet; and the latter, perceiving how he had been deceived, satisfied Beiram Khan for the reason of his coming, and spent two months with him. During this time, the enemies of Beiram Khan were disgraced, and himself loaded with favours. Beiram Khan, however, apprehensive that insinuations like those which had lately been thrown out, if repeated, might at last operate on his master's mind, earnestly entreated that the government might be bestowed on some other chief, and that he might be employed at court. Hoomayoon refused his consent, conceiving such a measure might injure Beiram Khan's reputation, and when they parted, the charge of the government of the district of Zumeen Dawur was made over to him, into which he removed two of his own dependents.

It was at this time that letters were received from some of the inhabitants of Dehly and Agra, acquainting Hoomayoon of the death of Sulim Shah Soor. They also stated that the Afghan tribes being engaged in a civil war, a favourable opportunity presented itself for Hoomayoon to return and take possession of his Kingdom. Being in no condition to raise a sufficient army for the enterprise, Hoomayoon paid little attention to the invitation, and became extremely melancholy. Being one day on a hunting party, he told some of his nobles, that he was very uneasy in his mind regarding Hindoostan. One of those who were in favour of the enterprise, observed, that there was an old method of divination, by sending a person

before, and asking the names of the three first persons he met, from which a conclusion good or bad might be drawn. The King, being naturally superstitious, humoured the fancy, and sent three horsemen in front, who were to come back and acquaint him of the answers they received. The first horseman who returned, said that he had met with a traveller whose name was Dowlut.* The next said that he met a man who called himself Moorad.† And the third, that he met with a villager whose name was Saadut.‡

The King evinced great joy upon this occasion, and though he could only collect fifteen thousand horse, determined to undertake the expedition into India. Having left Moonyim Khan in charge of the government of Kabul, and making over his youngest son, Mahomed Hukeem Mirza, to his hands, Hoomayoon, in the month of Suffur, 962, commenced his march from his capital. He was overtaken at Pishawur by Beiram Khan, with a body of veterans from Kandahar, and on the day he crossed the Indus he appointed Beiram Khan his general in chief, and ordered him to lead the advance, accompanied by Khizr Khan, Tardy Beg Khan, Sikundur Khan Oozbuk, and Ally Koolly Khan Sheebany.

Suffur, A. H. 962. December, A. D. 1554.

On the approach of the Mogul army, Tartar Khan, the Afghan governor of Punjab, commanding the new fort of Rohtas, having evacuated

* Empire. † The object of desire.

‡ Good fortune.

it, was closely pursued to Lahore, which the Afghans also vacating, Hoomayoon entered it without opposition. From Lahore he despatched Beiram Khan to Surhind, who occupied all the country up to that point. Hoomayoon having received intelligence that a body of Afghans, commanded by Shahbaz Khan and Nuseer Khan, were assembled at Depalpoor, ordered Shah Abool Maaly (a Syud, and an inhabitant of Toormooz, whom he used to honour with the appellation of son,) with a strong detachment against them. Shah Abool Maaly overthrew the enemy, and returned with much booty to Lahore.

Sikundur Shah Soor in the mean time had ordered Tartar Khan and Hubeeb Khan, with an army of thirty or forty thousand horse, from Dehly against Hoomayoon. Notwithstanding the great superiority in number of this force, Beiram Khan Toorkoman resolved to hazard an action, and having advanced boldly to meet the Indian army, pitched his camp on the banks of the Sutlooj at the town of Machywara. It being cold weather, the Indian Afghans kindled great fires of wood in their camp at night, of which Beiram Khan took advantage, and crossed the river with a thousand chosen horse. He now advanced to their camp without being discovered, when he began to gall those who crowded round the fires with arrows, which threw them into disorder. The Afghans (notorious for blundering),* instead of extinguish-

* The term *Hooch*, awkward or blundering, is a common synonyme for an Afghan in India.

ing their fires, which prevented them from seeing their enemies, who had a fair view of them, threw on more wood; and the whole of Beiram Khan's army having crossed the river, fell upon them on all sides, and routed them. The Afghans on this occasion lost all their elephants, their baggage, and a number of horses. Beiram Khan sent the elephants to Hoomayoon at Lahore, and remaining encamped at Machywarra, he dispersed detachments in all directions, and occupied all the country up to the walls of Dehly. The King was greatly rejoiced when he heard of this victory, and conferred on Beiram Khan the title of Khan Khanan.*

When the news of Tartar Khan's defeat reached Sikundur Shah Soor, he exacted an oath of fidelity from his officers, and marched with eighty thousand horse, a large train of artillery, and a number of elephants, towards Punjab. Beiram Khan advanced as far as the fort of Nowshera, and prepared it for a siege by laying in provisions. Sikundur Shah Soor encamped before the place, and Beiram Khan sent continual letters to Lahore, to hasten the march of Hoomayoon, who soon after joined. Beiram Khan in the interim made repeated sallies from the city, and greatly distressed the enemy in his camp.

On the last day of Rujub, while the Prince Akbur was visiting the pickets of the camp, the Afghans drew up their forces and offered battle.

* Noble of nobles, which entitled him to rank next to the blood royal.

The challenge was not refused, and the young Prince communicated the information with joy to his father. Hoomayoon gave the command of the right wing to Beiram Khan, and the left to Sikundur Khan Oozbuk, composed of the troops of Abdoolla Khan Oozbuk, Shah Abool Maaly, Ally Koolly Khan, and Tardy Beg Khan; these troops were directed to begin the action. The left wing having charged according to the orders which it received, the enemy were broken, and never after recovered from their confusion. The battle continued to rage for some time, during which Hoomayoon and Beiram Khan displayed great good conduct, while the Prince Akbur was distinguished by feats of personal courage. The Moguls, animated by the conduct of that young hero, seemed to forget that they were mortal. The enemy was driven off the field with slaughter, and their King, Sikundur Shah Soor, fled to the mountains of Sewalik.

Rujub 29 A. H. 962. June 18. A. D. 1555.

This victory decided the fate of the empire; and the kingdom of Dehly fell for ever from the hands of the Afghans. On the following day Sikundur Khan Oozbuk and some other chiefs were detached to take possession of Dehly and Agra, which they occupied without opposition. Hoomayoon conferred the government of Punjab on Shah Abool Maaly, and ordered him to pursue the fugitives. In the month of Rumzan, Hoomayoon re-entered Dehly in triumph, and became a second time King of Hindoostan. Beiram Khan, to whose valour

Rumzan, A. H. 962. July, A. D. 1555.

and talent the King was principally indebted for his restoration, was rewarded with the first offices in the state, and had princely estates assigned to him. Tardy Beg Khan was appointed governor of Dehly; Agra was assigned to Sikundur Khan Oozbuk; and Ally Koolly Khan was sent to Meerut and Sumbhul; to which province he departed with a considerable force.

Shah Abool Maaly, on account of disputes with the generals of his army in Punjab, had given time to Sikundur Soor to rally his forces; and the King accordingly permitted his son Akbur, under the direction of Beiram Khan, to proceed against him. Much about this time a man of low birth, who became famous under the name of Kumbur-e-Diwana, raised an insurrection in Sumbhul, and, collecting a large force, plundered the provinces of the Dooab. He was, however, defeated and slain on the 5th of Rubbee-ool-Awul, 963, by Ally Koolly Khan, and the revolt was totally suppressed.

Rubbee-ool-Awul 5. A. H. 963. Jan. 19. A. D. 1556.

On the evening of the 7th of Rubbee-ool-Awul, Hoomayoon, after walking on the terrace of the library at Dehly for some time, sat down to enjoy the fresh air; after which, while in the act of descending the steps to go below, the moazin or crier of the royal chapel announced the hour of prayer. The King, as is usual, stood still on the occasion, and having repeated the creed of Islam, sat down on the second step till the crier

Rubbee-ool-Awul 5. A. H. 963. Jan. 21. A. D. 1556.

had done. When about to rise, and endeavouring to support himself on a staff he held in his hand, it slipped along the marble, and the King fell headlong over. He was taken up insensible, and laid upon his bed, and although he soon recovered his speech, the physicians administered to him in vain; till, on the 11th of the month, about sunset, his soul took its flight to Paradise. He was buried in the new city, on the banks of the river; and a splendid monument was erected over him some years after, by his son Akbur. Hoomayoon died at the age of fifty-one, after a reign of twenty-five years, both in Kabul and India.

Rubbee-ool-Awul 11. A. H. 963. Jan. 25. A. D. 1556.

The mildness and benevolence of Hoomayoon's character were excessive, if there can be excess in such noble qualities. He was a prince of great intrepidity, and possessed the virtues of charity and munificence in a very high degree. He was skilled in the science of geography, and delighted in the society of learned men. He was regular in his devotions and ablutions, and never pronounced the name of God without having performed the latter ceremony. It is said on one occasion, having cause to send for one Meer Abd-ool-Hye, whose name signifies "Slave of the Eternal," he called him only Abdool, "Slave of," leaving out the last word because he had not bathed that morning, and begged his pardon accordingly.

Hoomayoon was of elegant stature, and of a bronze complexion. He professed the religion of Huneef, of the Soony persuasion. Kamran Mirza

and some other Choghtay nobles believed him to be of the Sheea persuasion, because he gave such encouragement to Kuzilbashies* and the inhabitants of Eerak to join his standard from his earliest years, so that many persons of eminence in Khorassan, devotees† of the holy family, found favour with him. Among others, was Beiram Khan, Toorkoman, his most intimate and attached friend, who professed the religion of the Imams. After the King ascended the throne, he elevated many Kuzilbashies (Persians) to high stations. It is said that Kamran Mirza was fond of talking to him on the subject of religion; so that one day, while they were riding together on their retreat from Hindoostan towards Lahore, they observed a dog lift up his leg against a tombstone: Kamran remarked, "I conclude the "man who is buried there is a Rafzy" (heterodox). Hoomayoon replied, "Yes, no doubt; the "dog is an orthodox brute." They were much in the habit of joking on such subjects; but the truth is, that on these occasions he merely wished to annoy Kamran, and to please Beiram Khan and those about him. There can be no doubt he was of the Hunefy persuasion,‡ as appears

* Persians.

† Devoted to Ally, and his twelve descendants, who, assuming the title of Imam in Khorassan, gave rise to the Sheea religion, which prevails in Persia.

‡ We may with safety take Ferishta's word for his religion, as, being himself a Sheea, he would gladly have acknowledged Hoomayoon to be of the same persuasion, had he not ample reason for knowing the contrary.

from several of his poems, which, though scarce, are still extant.*

* Here follows an ode, of this monarch's composition, chiefly on the delights of opium and pleasing intoxication, which it has not been thought necessary to translate.

AKBUR PADSHAH.

Akbur ascends the throne at the age of twelve years.—Beiram Khan, Toorkoman, minister.—Distribution of the provinces.—Hemoo, the minister of Mahomed Shah Adily, advances to Dehly—defeats Ally Khan Seestany—takes Agra—defeats Tardy Beg Khan—takes Dehly.—The Moguls driven across the Sutlooj—they concentrate at Lahore. —Beiram Khan is appointed protector.—The Mogul chiefs propose to quit India, and retire to Kabul.—Beiram Khan opposes the measure.—The Indian chief Hemoo ascends the throne of Dehly, and marches to expel the Moguls.—Battle of Paniput fatal to the Indians.—Beiram Khan excites the King's jealousy—is removed from his office—goes into rebellion—is seized and pardoned—retires to Mecca, but is murdered on the road.—Malwa recovered out of the hands of Baz Bahadur.—Sheer Khan, the son of Sikundur Shah Soor, marches with an army from Bengal to support his title to the throne of Dehly—is defeated.—An attempt to assassinate Akbur fails.—Rebellion of Asuf Khan Hirvy and Khan Zeman Oozbuk in the Dooab.—Kabul taken by Sooliman Mirza of Budukhshan.—Revolt of the King's brother Mahomed Hukeem.—Khan Zuman taken, and suffers death.—Mahomed Hukeem returns, and recovers Kabul.—Chittoor taken by Akbur.—Runtunbhore taken.—War in Guzerat.—Guzerat occupied by Akbur.—Revolt in the direction of Bengal suppressed, and Dawood Kirany expelled.—Dawood Kirany recovers Bengal—is again subdued, and suffers death.—Mahomed Hukeem Mirza revolts a second time, and enters the Punjab—is repulsed by the King in person, and is pardoned.—Guzerat recovered out of the hands of Akbur's officers.—War in Bengal.—The Afghans cut off the communication between India and Kabul.—Great exertions of Akbur in all quarters.—A Hindoo chief appointed governor of Kabul. —Akbur holds his court at Lahore.—Moozuffur Shah,

the King of Guzerat, is taken, and puts an end to himself. —Akbur sends his son Moorad Mirza to Guzerat, and thence to the Deccan.—Kandeish occupied.—Ahmudnuggur besieged.—Battle of Soopa, between the Moguls and Deccanies.—Akbur besieges Asseer.—Berar occupied.—Daniel Mirza espouses a daughter of the King of Beejapoor—is appointed governor of Kandeish—dies.—Akbur's grief produces illness, of which he dies—his character—nature of his government.

THE history of this sovereign has been transmitted to us by Sheikh Abool Fuzl, the son of Sheikh Moobarik, in an heroic poem consisting of one hundred and ten thousand couplets, from which the author, Mahomed Kasim Ferishta, has principally derived the materials for this reign.

Abool Fuzl relates, that when Hoomayoon became insensible after his fall, the Mogul chiefs despatched Ally Koolly Khan express to Punjab, to acquaint his son Akbur of the accident. This information reached the Prince in a few days at the town of Kullanoor. The officers who were present, after expressing their grief for the deceased, raised Akbur to the throne, on the 2nd of Rubbee-oos-Sany, in the year 963, when he was only thirteen years and nine months old.

Rubbee-oos-Sany 2. A. H. 963. Feb. 15. A. D. 1556.

Beiram Khan, Toorkoman, distinguished by the title of Khan Khanan, became his minister, and had the whole civil and military power vested in his hands. The first orders issued from the throne, after despatching the letters announcing the succession, prohibited the exactions of the usual presents. Not many days after this, Shah Abool Maaly, who had been in great favour with

Hoomayoon having evinced traitorous designs, was seized and imprisoned in Lahore. Some time after, however, he found means to escape out of the hands of Peihlwan Goolzar, the kotwal to whose charge he had been committed, and who killed himself in consequence. Tardy Beg Khan despatched all the ensigns of royalty form Dehly, under charge of Abool Kasim Mirza, the son of Kamran Mirza, and the following chiefs addressed letters of congratulation to the young King. Ally Koolly Khan Seestany, governor of Sumbhul; Sikundur Khan Oozbuk, governor of Agra; Bahadur Khan, governor of Depalpoor; and Moonyim Khan, the tutor of the Prince Mahomed Hukeem Mirza. Meanwhile the King had occasion to lead his army towards the hills, in order to attack Sikundur Shah Soor; and having defeated and compelled him to fly within the recesses of the mountains, the King's army returned. Akbur, shortly after, having subdued the country of Nagrakote, received D'hurmchund, the Indian prince of that province, into favour; but the rains coming on, he took up his residence at Jalundur. In the mean time, Sooliman Mirza, who had been left governor of Budukhshan, throwing off his allegiance, marched against Kabul, which was defended by Moonyim Khan, the tutor of the Prince Hukeem Mirza, the King's brother. Intelligence of this insurrection having reached Akbur, he detached Mahomed Koolly Birlass, Shums-ood-Deen Mahomed Khan Atka, Khizr Khan, and other officers, to succour Moonyim Khan. Some of those chiefs entered Kabul, while others, encamping

without the city, harassed the besiegers for the space of four months, when the garrison being at length worn out for want of provisions, Moonyim Khan was compelled to suffer the Khootba to be name of Sooliman Mirza, who then raised the siege read in the and returned to Budukhshan.

During these transactions at Kabul, Hemoo, the vizier of Mahomed Shah Adily, advancing towards Agra with thirty thousand horse and foot, and two thousand elephants, obliged Sikundur Khan Oozbuk to retreat to Dehly, while Shady Khan another of Mahomed Shah Adily's generals, advanced with an army to the banks of the Rohut, where Ally Koolly Khan Seestany, who had received the title of Khan Zuman, opposed him with three thousand horse; but the latter was defeated with so severe a loss, that only two hundred of his men escaped from the field of battle, many of whom were drowned in the river.

Hemoo, elated with this intelligence, laid siege to Agra, and having reduced it proceeded to Dehly. Tardy Beg Khan, the governor, seized with consternation, sent expresses to all the Mogul chiefs in the neighbourhood, to come to his aid. Shortly after, being joined by Abdoolla Khan, Lall Sooltan Budukhshy, Ally Koolly Khan Indijany, Meeruk Khan Kolaby, and others, he conceived himself in a condition to give the enemy battle, without waiting for Khan Zuman, who by this time had obtained a considerable reinforcement, and was on his march to Dehly. Tardy Beg Khan accordingly moved to meet the enemy. Hemoo selected three thousand horse and some

of his best elephants, which he retained near his own person in the centre, and during the heat of the battle he charged Tardy Beg Khan with such impetuosity, that he compelled him to quit the field. The right wing of the Moguls was routed, the flight became general, and the city of Dehly also surrendered. Tardy Beg Khan fled to Surhind, leaving the whole country open to the enemy. Khan Zuman, hearing of this disaster at Meerut, avoided Dehly, and proceeded to Nowshehra, on his way to join the King, who, during these transactions, was at Jalundur, and finding all his dominions, except the Punjab, wrested from him, was perplexed how to act. At length, feeling diffident of himself both from his youth and inexperience, he conferred on Beiram Khan, Toorkoman, the title of Khan Baba,* and reposing his whole trust in the prudence and wisdom of that chief, begged of him to take measures for retrieving his affairs. At the same time he assured him, in the most solemn manner, that he would pay no attention to any malicious accusations against him. The young King also required of Beiram Khan to swear on his part, by the soul of his deceased father Hoomayoon, and by the head of his own son, that he would be faithful to his trust. After this, a council being called by Beiram Khan, the majority of the officers were of opinion, that as the enemy's force consisted of more than a hundred thousand horse, while the

*This word signifies father, and the title and power in the present instance answered to that of regent or protector.

royal army could scarcely muster twenty thousand, it would be prudent to retreat to Kabul. Beiram Khan not only opposed this measure, but was almost singular in his opinion that the King ought instantly to give battle to the enemy. The voice of Akbur, which was in unison with the sentiments of Beiram Khan, decided the question. Hostilities being determined on, Khizr Khan (the husband of Sooltana Goolbudun Begum, the King's aunt), who was then governor of Lahore, was directed to attack Sikundur Khan Soor; while the King prepared to march in person against Hemoo. On reaching Nowshehra, he was joined by several of his defeated officers, who had assembled at that place. During his stay there, Beiram Khan, taking advantage of the King's absence from camp on a hunting party, caused Tardy Beg Khan to be seized and beheaded for abandoning Dehly, where he might have defended himself. When Akbur returned, Beiram Khan waited on him, and acquainted him with what he had done, at the same time excusing himself for not consulting the King, as he felt certain his clemency was such, that, notwithstanding Tardy Beg Khan's misconduct, he would have pardoned him. Beiram Khan remarked, that lenity at such a crisis would lead to dangerous consequences, as the only hopes left to the Moguls, at the present moment, depended on every individual exerting himself to the utmost of his power.

The King felt obliged to approve of this severe measure. The author of this work has understood, from the best-informed men of the times, that had Tardy Beg Khan not been executed by way of

example, such was the condition of the Mogul army, and the general feeling of those foreigners, that the old scene of Sheer Shah would have been acted over again. But in consequence of this prompt though severe measure, the Choghtay officers, each of whom before esteemed himself at least equal to Keikobad and Keikaoos,* now found it necessary to conform to the orders of Beiram Khan, and to submit quietly to his authority.

Soon after this event, the army marched from Nowshehra towards Dehly. The advance guard consisted of the division of Sikundur Khan Oozbuk, Abdoolla Khan, Ally Kooly Khan Indijany, Mahomed Khan Jelabur Budukhshy, Mujnoon Khan Kakshal, and others, the whole commanded by Khan Zuman, who was created Surlushkur † (commander-in-chief). This corps was supported by another body of troops composed of the dependents of Beiram Khan, among whom were Hoossein Kooly Beg, Mahomed Sadik Khan Purwanchy, Shah Kooly Khan Mahrum, Meer Mahomed Kasim Khan Nyshapoory, Syud Mahomed Barka, and others. Hemoo, who had now assumed the title of Raja Vikramajeet, in Dehly, having attached Shady Khan and other Afghan chiefs to his interest, marched out of the capital to meet the King, with an army as numerous as the locusts and ants of the desert. His advance guard, consisting of Afghans, with some artillery, having fallen in with the Mogul Surlushkur, was routed with the loss of

* Independent and arbitrary kings of Persia.

† The Surlushkur of India answers to Seraskier of the Ottoman Porte.

all its guns, an event which proved of great importance to Akbur. Hemoo, however, reached Paniput without further opposition; and hearing the King was near, distributed his elephants, in which he greatly confided, among his principal officers, and waited an attack.

Mohurrum 2. A. H. 964. November 5 A. D. 1556. On the morning of the 2d of Mohurrum, 964, the Surlushkur having halted, was joined by the whole army, except a few select troops who remained to guard the King's person, and drawing up, offered battle. Hemoo began the action with his elephants, in hopes of alarming the enemy's cavalry, unaccustomed to those animals; but the Moguls attacked them so furiously, after they had penetrated even to the centre of the army, where Khan Zuman Khan commanded, that, galled with lances, arrows, and javelins, they became quite unruly, and disdaining the control of their drivers, turned and threw the Afghan ranks into confusion. Hemoo, mounted on an elephant of prodigious size, still continued the action with great bravery, at the head of four thousand horse, in the very heart of the Mogul army; but being pierced through the eye with an arrow, he sunk into his howda* from extreme agony. The greater part of his troops feared his wound was mortal, and forsook him. Raising himself again, Hemoo drew the arrow and with it the eye out of the socket, which he wrapt in his handkerchief, and in spite of his

* The howda is an open seat without a canopy, and is used in battle instead of the amary, which is more fitted for state occasions.

painful situation, he continued to fight with unabated courage, endeavouring, with the few men who remained about his person, to force his retreat through the enemy's line. At length Shah Koolly Khan Mahrum levelled his lance against the diver of Hemoo's elephant, who, in order to save his own life, pointed to his master, and promised Shah Koolly Khan to guide the elephant wherever he directed. He was now surrounded by a body of horse, and carried prisoner to Akbur, who was about two or three coss* in the rear. When Hemoo was brought into the presence, Beiram Khan recommended the King to do a meritorious act by killing the infidel with his own hand. Akbur, in order to fulfil the wish of his minister, drew his sword, and touching the head of the captive became entitled to the appellation of Ghazy,† while Beiram Khan, drawing his own sabre, at a single blow severed the head of Hemoo from his body.

During this action, fifteen hundred elephants fell into the hands of Akbur, who, marching from Paniput, entered Dehly without opposition. From that city he detached Peer Mahomed Khan, the steward of Beiram Khan's household, towards Mewat, wherein the treasure of Hemoo was deposited, a service which was accomplished with trifling loss. While these events transpired in

* Five miles.

† No single word in our language conveys the idea of this title, so highly prized among the Mahomedans: it signifies one who, by his deeds in war, has slain infidels, and propagated the true faith. Among Christians, knights of the cross might, perhaps, assume the title. Saladin was the Ghazy of the Saracens, and Richard Cœur de Lion of the Christians, in the wars of the Crusades.

India, the Persian army, commanded by Sooltan Hoossein Mirza, the son of Beiram Mirza, the son of Shah Ismael Sufvy, advanced by order of Shah Tahmasp, and laid siege to Kandahar, which fell into the hands of the Persians after a severe action that took place under the walls. In this engagement Shah Mahomed Kandahary, deputy of the minister Beiram Khan, commanded. At the same time news arrived that Khizr Khan, one of Akbur's generals, had been defeated by Sikundur Shah Soor, and obliged to fly to Lahore.

Akbur, on hearing of these events, put his army in motion and marched towards the Punjab, on which Sikundur Shah Soor, who had advanced as far as Kullanoor, retreated to the fort of Mankote, built by his relative Sulim Shah Soor. At this place Akbur encamped for the space of three months, during which time the King's mother, and other ladies of the seraglio, together with several of the families of the Choghtay chiefs, returned from Kabul. They were escorted by the officer who had been sent there to afford aid to Moonyim Khan; but Mahomed Hukeem Mirza, with his mother and sister, remained at Kabul by the King's orders. The former was formally invested by patent with the management of that country, under the tutelage of Moonyim Khan during his minority.

The siege of Mankote lasted for six months, when Sikundur Shah opened negotiations to surrender, and Mahomed Khan Atka was sent into the fort for the purpose of concluding the terms. Sikundur Shah, unable to attend the King owing to his wounds, consented to evacuate the fort, and

to cause his son, Sheikh Abdool Rahman, to enter the King's service and remain with him as a hostage for his own future forbearance from hostility, begging that he himself might be permitted to retire unmolested to Bengal. These terms being acceded to, Sheikh Abdool Rahman, in the month
Rumzan, A. H. 964. July, A. D. 1557.
of Rumzan 964, was presented to the King, and made offerings of several elephants. Sikundur Shah retired to Bengal, and Mankote was delivered up to Akbur, who having left a trusty governor in the place, proceeded on the road to Lahore. Beiram Khan, perceiving that the King had lately conferred favours on some persons whom he suspected to be his enemies, was so annoyed, that he withdrew for some days from the royal presence. During this time it happened, that while the King was amusing himself with an elephant fight, one of the animals became unruly, and chanced to run over the tent ropes of Beiram Khan. The minister, conceiving this circumstance was designed, sent Mahim Atka to acquaint the King "that he was "sorry to perceive he had given him offence; and "that if he had done so, he begged to be "informed of what he had been guilty." The King assured Beiram Khan that the circumstance to which he alluded occurred by mere accident; but the minister was by no means satisfied; nor could he be persuaded that the King's mind was not estranged from him. At length they reached Lahore.

On their arrival, Shums-ood-Deen Mahomed Khan Atka, conceiving that he had offended

Beiram Khan, waited on him, and took the most solemn oaths that he had on no occasion spoken disrespectfully of him to the King; meanwhile the army proceeded by easy marches to the south, and reached Dehly on the 25th of Jumad-oos-Sany. On the road a reconciliation took place between the King and the Regent, and the marriage of Sulima Sooltana Begum, the niece of the late Hoomayoon Padshah, with Beiram Khan, was celebrated at Jalundur with the King's consent, who was present at the nuptials.

Jumad-oos-Sany 25. A. H. 965. April 9. A. D. 1558.

In the same year, Khan Zuman, not only received the title of Ameer-ool-Oomra, but was raised to the rank of an officer of five thousand, and made governor of Joonpoor. Shortly afterwards, he seduced away from the King's body guard one of his troopers, who had been a favourite of Hoomayoon. The King sent an order to Khan Zuman to send the young man back; but some delay occurring, he was induced, at the instigation of Moolla Peer Mahomed, to march the army against him. · Khan Zuman deputed one Furokh Ally, on his part, to court, to excuse his conduct; but Moolla Peer Mahomed, knowing that both Khan Zuman and Furokh Ally were the firm adherents of Beiram Khan, had sufficient influence not only to procure the messenger to be severely beaten, but subsequently to be pushed off the terrace of the palace, when he was killed. Khan Zuman at length allowed his favourite trooper to quit him; but instead of going to court, he retired to Suroorpoor, having been permitted to take with

him one of his master's favourite mistresses, called Dilaram, originally a dancing girl. The young man subsequently engaging in a quarrel on her account lost his life; to revenge which Khan Zuman marched to Suroorpoor, and Meer Abdool Rahman, the governor, fled for protection to the court.

It was about this time that Moosahib Beg, the son of Khwaja Kullan, unmindful of the obligations he owed to Beiram Khan, began to treat him with disrespect, till at length he fell a victim to his misconduct, and was put to death by order of the Protector. This event gave great offence not only to the Choghtay officers and nobles, but also to the King himself, who, shortly after quitting Dehly, proceeded to Agra; and the circumstance was still fresh in every one's mind, when Beiram Khan determined to cut off Moolla Peer Mahomed in the same way.

This person, formerly a retainer of Beiram Khan, was, on account of his abilities, preferred to the office of private tutor to the King; and having gained great influence with his Prince, he behaved with insolence towards the nobles of the court, making them wait whole hours for an audience, and at last sending them word that he could not see them at all. This conduct gave universal offence. Beiram Khan himself, on going one day to Moolla Peer Mahomed's house to enquire after his health, was stopped by the servants, and made to wait outside, and even when admitted, was only allowed to take one servant with him into

the court-yard. This conduct so incensed the Protector, that without speaking to the King on the subject, he sent Moolla Peer Mahomed prisoner to a fort, from whence he was banished to Guzerat, and eventually to Mecca, on the plea of performing a pilgrimage; and Hajy Mahomed Khan Seestany, a townsman of the Protector, was appointed to succeed Moolla Peer Mahomed as the King's preceptor.

Akbur was highly enraged at this proceeding; but Beiram Khan, by way of diverting his mind, projected an expedition against Gualiar. That fortress still remained in possession of Soheil Khan, an officer of Sulim Shah, the son of Sheer Shah, who held it for Mahomed Shah Adily. Soheil Khan, hearing of Akbur's intentions, wrote to Ram-Sa, a descendant of Raja Man-Sing, saying, that as his ancestors had been masters of Gualiar, and as he was not capable of holding the place against the King, he would put it into the possession of the Raja for a reasonable sum. Ram-Sa availed himself of this offer, and moved towards the fort; but Yekbal Khan, who possessed an estate in the neighbourhood of Gualiar, having raised his vassals, attacked and defeated the Hindoo chief, who fled into the dominions of the Rana.* After which Yekbal Khan, having invested Gualiar, Soheil Khan surrendered it into his hands.

A. H. 964. A. D 1556.

In the course of the same year, Khan Zuman, in order to recommend himself, and to effect a

* The Rana of Oodipoor.

reconciliation with the King, after all that had happened regarding the trooper, marched with his troops and subdued all the districts near Joonpoor and Benares, which till then remained in the hands of the adherents of the Afghan dynasty.

Rujub, A. H. 963. May, A. D. 1556.

In the month of Rujub, of the same year, Mahomed Ghows, the brother of Sheikh Bheilole, who on account of his attachment to the Mogul dynasty had retired to Guzerat, now returned to court with his family; and being favourably received Beiram Khan was requested to provide him with a suitable establishment. Mahomed Ghows, relying too much on his personal interest with the King, neglected to pay that attention to the minister which he always expected, and Beiram Khan made so many excuses and delays that Mahomed Ghows found his stay at court disagreeable, and quitting it, retired to his old family residence at Gualiar. The King was much vexed with Beiram Khan for his conduct on this occasion; and he, observing a visible alteration in Akbur's manner towards him, proposed an expedition against Baz Buhadur, ruler of Malwa, to the command of which Bahadur Khan, the brother of Khan Zuman, governor of Depalpoor, was nominated.

About this time the King, being on a hunting party near Sikundra, was joined by Mahim Atka, who stated that the Queen-dowager was extremely ill at Dehly, and wished to see him. He accordingly proceeded to Dehly, and Shahab-ood-Deen Ahmud Khan Nyshapoory, an officer of five

thousand, whot hen commanded in the city, came out to meet him. Apprehensive, however, lest Beiram Khan should suppose that the' King's journey to Dehly had originated in an invitation from him, and fearing that he might in consequence be removed, as Moosahib Beg had been on a former occasion, Shahab-ood-Deen communicated his fears to Akbur, and begged that he might be permitted to retire, on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Surprised to find how much the minister was dreaded: yet by way of courtesy to Beiram Khan, as well as to remove Shahab-ood-Deen Ahmud's fears, Akbur wrote to Beiram Khan, telling him that he had come to Dehly, not by invitation of any person, but merely to pay his respects to his sick mother. Beiram Khan replied, that "he should never entertain resentment against any person whom his "Majesty was pleased to honour with his favour;" he, moreover, deputed Hajy Mahomed Khan Seestany, and Tursoon Beg, to Dehly, with assurances of his loyalty. The enemies of Beiram Khan at court procured the seisure and confinement of his messengers. This circumstance was no sooner made known at Agra, than many of the minister's adherents began to quit him, and proceed to the court at Dehly, where Shahab-ood-Deen Ahmud, finding the King disposed to listen to accusations against the falling minister, gave full vent to his animosity, in which he was joined by many of the courtiers whom he had attached to his interest. In short, so many insinuations were thrown out against Beiram Khan, particularly one of a design in favour of Abool Kasim Mirza, the son of the late Kamran

Mirza, that Akbur became alarmed, and thought it necessary to curtail the Protector's authority. Accordingly, when Mahomed Khan and Tursoon Beg arrived in Dehly, instead of being admitted to an audience, they were seized and imprisoned, as has been related.

This breach between the King and Beiram Khan is related, with other particulars, by Abool Fuzl. "One day," says that historian, "while the King was at Agra, one of his elephants "being *must*,* attacked and killed another of "Beiram Khan's, who, on the spur of the moment, "commanded the keeper of the royal elephant to "be put to death, without first speaking to the "King. Akbur was highly incensed, the more so, "on finding that the man was not to blame, having "lost all command over the animal. Soon after "this," continues Abool Fuzl, "while Beiram Khan "was taking his pleasure in a barge on the river, "one of the elephants which had been carried down "to the water, ran furiously against the boat, and "had nearly sunk it, but for the great efforts of his "driver. The minister, naturally suspicious, ima-"gined these accidents were actually plots against "his life; and he required the King to punish "the driver. In order to satisfy the Protector, "and to remove his suspicion, Akbur ordered the

* The word used to denote the condition of an elephant in the rutting season. The violence of these animals on such occasions may easily be imagined by those persons who saw the elephant which was killed at Exeter 'Change, in 1825, or who read the accounts of his wild conduct.

"elephant driver to be sent to him to be punished "at his discretion, when Beiram Khan caused him "to suffer death. Akbur, much incensed at these "two instances of his minister's cruelty, came to "the resolution of depriving him of office; a mea-"sure which required great firmness and much "address." Some authors mention a scheme suggested to the King by his nurse to get possession of the seals; while others say, that she discovered it was the Protector's design to seize and confine him; a plot she is stated to have accidentally overheard, in a conversation between Beiram Khan and the Queen-dowager. "This," say they, "was "the cause which determined Akbur to quit "Agra," but Abool Fuzl does not mention it. He informs us, and with great probability, that the idea of shaking off the trammels of the minister was first communicated to Adam Khan Atka, and Mahim Atka, by the young King, who, tired of tutelage, thought he was capable of acting for himself. When it became known the messengers from Beiram Khan had been imprisoned, his ruin was easily foreseen by every body. A few days after, Akbur issued a proclamation, announcing to his people that he had taken the sole management of affairs into his own hands, requiring that henceforward no orders from court but those issued under his own seal should be obeyed.

Shah Abool Maaly, a favourite noble of the late Hoomayoon Padshah, had been long confined in Lahore; but having some time before this period found means to escape, he joined Kumal

Gukkur, and accompanied him in an expedition against Kashmeer. These chiefs were defeated with great slaughter; and Shah Abool Maaly, retiring to Depalpoor, instigated Bahadur Khan Seestany to rebel; but the latter repenting of his conduct, a quarrel ensued, and Shah Abool Maaly retired towards the Indus, whence he fled to Guzerat, and eventually came to Joonpoor; where being seized by Khan Zuman, he was sent prisoner to Agra, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the fort of Byana.

Beiram Khan, finding himself out of favour at court, marched to Malwa, with the intention of reducing that country, and establishing an independent principality. At Byana, finding that Bahadur Khan Seestany and other chiefs, on whose assistance he calculated, were unwilling to aid him, Beiram Khan procured the release of Shah Abool Maaly from confinement, and intended, through his aid and that of Khan Zuman of Joonpoor, to attack and expel the Afghans from Bengal, and fix himself in that quarter. Before he had proceeded far, however, he changed his resolution, and took the route of Nagoor, with the avowed design of making a pilgrimage to Mecca; while Bahadur Khan Seestany, Yekbal Khan, and many other chiefs who had joined him, took leave and departed. On reaching Nagoor, Beiram Khan gave up the notion of going to Mecca, and assembled troops, in order to establish himself in Punjab.

A. H. 966.
A. D. 1558.

The King, informed of these proceedings, sent

Meer Abdool Luteef Kuzweeny, his preceptor, with a message to him; saying, "Till now, our "mind has been taken up with our education, "and the amusements of youth, and it was our "royal will, that you should regulate the affairs of "our empire. But it being our intention hence-"forward to govern our people by our own judg-"ment, let our wellwisher withdraw from all "worldly concerns, and, retiring to Mecca, far re-"moved from the toils of public life, spend the "rest of his days in prayer."

Beiram Khan, on receiving this communication, professed obedience, and sent the ensigns of state, his elephants, banners, and drums, by Hoossein Koolly Khan, to the King, and returning to Nagoor, began to prepare for his departure for Mecca. He dismissed all his retainers; but Wully Beg and Ismael Khan (his own relations), as well as Shah Koolly Khan Mahrum, Hoossein Khan Oostajloo, Sheikh Guddayee, and Khwaja Moozuffur Ally Toormoozy, refused to quit him. Of all those who abandoned him at this time, most had been his associates and attendants for many years, and owed every thing to his favour; but all obligations were in a moment forgotten; and on the occasion of leaving him, they even carried with them most of his camels and camp equipage. Among those who left him was Shah Abool Maaly; who having joined Akbur while on a hunting-party, and neglecting to dismount when he made his obeisance, was instantly confined.

Beiram Khan proceeded as far as Bhickanere;

but repenting of his resolution to give up public life, returned to Nagoor, where he again began to assemble troops. The King, informed of this circumstance, marched to Jahjur. Moolla Peer Mahomed, lately returned from the exile to which he had been condemned by Beiram Khan, was considered a fit person to carry on the war against him; and on this occasion he received the title of Peer Mahomed Khan.* The King, meanwhile, having returned to Dehly, sent orders to Moonyim Khan, the governor of Kabul, to repair to court.

A. H. 967.
A. D. 1559.

On the approach of the royalists, Beiram Khan marched to Punjab, closely pursued by Peer Mahomed Khan. On reaching Bituhnda, he was induced to throw all his baggage into that fort, then commanded by Sheer Mahomed Khan, one of his former adherents. No sooner had this chief got them into his possession than he expelled the escort, and appropriated Beiram Khan's property to himself. The ex-minister proceeded to Depalpoor, which was also in the hands of one of his old adherents, Dervish Mahomed Oozbuk; but when he sent his secretary, Khwaja Moozuffur Ally, to wait on him, Dervish Mahomed seized and sent him to the King. All hopes being thus at an end, Beiram Khan marched towards Jalun-

* The reader need hardly be informed that the title of Khan is hereditary in India, and belongs only to the nobility. The conferring of the title of Khan on a Moola, or a learned man, was as if a professor of literature or science should, on that account, be elevated to the peerage.

dur. At this time, Peer Mahomed Khan was recalled, and Shums-ood-Deen Mahomed Khan Atka proceeded to occupy Punjab, and to seize Beiram Khan. A battle ensued at Machiwarra, which was contested with bravery on both sides. Mahomed Khan's troops were at first broken, but, at length, several of Beiram Khan's officers being killed, his followers fled, and he sought protection in the mountains of Sewalik. After this event, the King appointed Khwaja Abdool Mujeed Hirvy to the government of Dehly, under the title of Asuf Khan, and marched in person to Lahore. On his arrival at Lodhana he was met by Moonyim Khan from Kabul, who was graciously received, honoured with the title of Khan Khanan, and created prime minister.

The King's army having advanced near the mountains of Sewalik, a detachment of light horse entered the hills, where the zemindars of that country combined in support of Beiram Khan. They were, however, so vigorously attacked, that the exile, in the utmost distress, sent his slave Jumal to the King, representing his unfortunate condition, and imploring pardon. Akbur despatched Moolla Abdoolla, a native of Sooltanpoor, to him, with assurances of forgiveness, and with directions to conduct him to court. Accordingly, in the month of Rubbee-ool-Sany, A. H. 968, he was met, at some distance from the camp, by a considerable number of chiefs deputed to receive him, and was brought into the presence,

Rubbee-ool-Sany, A. H. 968. December, A. D. 1560.

with every mark of distinction. On entering the court, he hung his turban round his neck, and advancing rapidly, threw himself, in tears, at the foot of the throne.

Akbur, stretching forth his hand, caused him to rise, and placed him in his former station at the head of the nobles. A splendid dress was now brought; and the King addressed him in the following words: "If Beiram Khan loves a military "life, the government of Kalpy and Chundery "offer a field for his ambition. If he choose "rather to remain at court, our favour shall not be "wanting to the benefactor of our family; but "should he be disposed to seek devotion in "retirement, let him perform a pilgrimage to "Mecca, whither he shall be escorted in a manner "suitable to his rank." Beiram Khan replied, "The royal confidence being once shaken, how "can I wish to remain in the presence? The "clemency of the King is enough, and his forgive-"ness is more than a reward for my former ser-"vices. Let me, therefore, avert my thoughts "from this world to another, and be allowed to "proceed to the holy shrine." The King assented, and ordered a proper retinue to attend him, at the same time assigning to him a pension of fifty thousand rupees* annually for his support. Beiram Khan soon after took leave of the King, who, with a few attendants, returned to Agra.

Beiram Khan proceeded to Guzerat, in order to embark for Mecca, and reached the suburbs of

* 5000*l*.

Puttun,* then governed by Moosy Khan Lody. During his stay there he went to visit a spot called Sahasnuk, so called from the thousand temples erected in its vicinity. One evening, in the month of Jumad-ool-Awul of the same year, he was with a number of friends, accompanied by musicians, in a boat on the lake, where they remained the whole night. On his return in the morning, Beiram Khan was accosted by one Moobarik Khan Lohany, a person whose father he had slain in battle with his own hand. The wretch, pretending to embrace him, drew his dagger, and stabbed Beiram Khan to the heart; and a mob of Afghans falling on his retinue, plundered it. After his death, Mahomed Ameer Dewana, Baba Zeinoo, and some other of his attendants, conveyed his widow and his son, Mirza Abdool Ruheem, then only four years old, to Ahmudabad; whence Itimad Khan, the ruler of Guzerat, sent the whole family, with a suitable escort, to the King at Agra. The history of Mirza Abdool Ruheem will be found in its proper place in this work.

Jumad-ool-Awul, A. H. 968. January, A. D. 1561.

Beiram Khan was one of the most distinguished officers of the Mogul court. He was descended from a line of ancestors who served for many generations in the family of the illustrious Teimoor Sahib Kiran. His pedigree is as follows: Mahomed Biran Khan Toorkoman, the son of Syf Ally Beg, the son of Yar Ally Beg, the son of Sheer Ally

* Nehrwala Puttun.

Beg. In the female line, he is descended from Ally Shukur, Toorkoman Baharloo. When Zowzun Hussun Sooltan conquered Erak, and Sooltan Aboo Syeed Mirza lost his life, Sheer Ally Beg, who was then in his service, attached himself to Sooltan Mahomed, the son of Sooltan Aboo Syeed Mirza; but meeting with little encouragement to continue with him, he came to Kabul, and in the course of six months raised an army and marched in the direction of Shiraz, with the intention of establishing himself in an independent kingdom. In this endeavour, he was joined by some Toorkomans, and absolutely reached Fars; but being defeated by the troops of Zowzun Hussun, he fled to Khorassan, and eventually lost his life in battle, near Hirat. Sheer Ally Beg's eldest son, Yar Ally Beg, went to Koondooz, and entered the service of Khoosrow Shah; whom he quitted, and enrolled himself under the banners of Babur, on which occasion he seduced several of the officers of Khoosrow Shah from their duty. Yar Ally Beg died in the service of Babur, and his son, Seif Ally Beg, became governor of Ghizny. At his death, his son, Beiram Khan, retired to Bulkh; but being subsequently brought into notice at the court of Hoomayoon, he became his bosom friend, and was selected on that account as governor to his son.

In the end of the year 968, Adam Khan Atka was appointed to command an army destined for the conquest of Malwa. Baz Bahadur, the ruler of the principality, spent his time in idle pleasures at Sarungpoor; and such was his indolence, that, although aware of the expedition of the Moguls,

he allowed them to approach within twenty miles of his capital, before he could be prevailed on to quit the pillows of ease, and prepare for action. The contest was short: the Moguls, on the first onset, broke his troops, captured his property and family, and sent him with streaming eyes and a broken heart towards Boorhanpoor.

A. H. 969.
A. D. 1561.

Adam Khan, after the victory, made provision for the government of Malwa, and distributed the spoil among his followers, reserving for himself the treasure, the royal ensigns, and the ladies of the haram of Baz Bahadur. He sent nothing but a few elephants to the King. Akbur, conceiving that Adam Khan intended to render himself independent, marched to Malwa. He first appeared before Gungrar, the governor of which place, on the part of Baz Bahadur, delivered it up without opposition. Akbur thence made a night march, and in the morning arrived before Sarungpoor. Adam Khan, unaware of the King's approach, was coming out with an intention to besiege Gungrar; but on making the discovery, he paid his respects, and accompanied him into the city. Adam Khan, suspecting the true cause of the King's visit, laid at his feet the treasure and spoil he had reserved for himself, alleging, by way of excuse, that he had reserved them till he should have the honour of presenting them in person. The King saw through this flimsy disguise, but preferring clemency to rigour, allowed the circumstance to pass without further notice, and soon after returned to Agra. One day while hunting in the

vicinity of Nurwur, a royal tigress crossed the road. Akbur, without hesitation, urged on his horse, and with a single stroke of his sabre cut her across the loins, and stretched her dead on the plain. The nobles present, in excess of joy, ran to kiss the royal stirrup, and offered up thanks to God for his preservation.

He had only been a few months at Agra when Sheer Khan, the son of the late Mahomed Shah Adily, with forty thousand Afghans, advanced from Bengal to reduce the province of Joonpoor. Sheer Khan was opposed by Khan Zuman with twelve thousand cavalry, and sustained a total defeat. Bahadur Khan Seestany, the brother of Khan Zuman, distinguished himself much on this occasion; indeed, both were esteemed among the bravest soldiers of the age; but presuming too much on their character, they neglected to send to court the elephants taken in the battle, which are always considered the property of the crown. The King, though prepared to allow due credit to the brothers for their gallantry, could by no means overlook so gross an infringement of his prerogative, and therefore determined on marching towards Joonpoor; but on reaching Kurra, sensible of their misconduct, they advanced to congratulate Akbur, and presented him not only with the elephants and all the spoils they had taken, but made other suitable offerings. The King, whose generosity and clemency were equalled only by his spirit, returned every thing except what belonged of right to the crown, and giving them at the same

time a gentle reproof for their neglect, he secured their attachment by his princely behaviour and courtesy. During the march to Agra, on the third day, they were permitted to return to their government of Joonpoor.

At this time, Mahomed Khan Atka, governor of Punjab, and Adam Khan Atka, ruler of Malwa, arrived at court according to orders, bringing with them suitable presents. The government of Malwa was now conferred on the King's old preceptor, Peer Mahomed Khan, and the office of prime minister devolved on Mahomed Khan Atka. In the year 969, the King, proceeding to Ajmere, visited the shrine of Khwaja Moyeen-ood-Deen Chishty; and shortly after, on his arrival at Sumthur, Raja Poorunmul consented to give his daughter to him in marriage, and suffered himself and his son Bhowany Dass* to be enrolled among the number of the nobles of the court. At Ajmere, Akbur, having performed his devotions, detached Mirza Shurf-ood-Deen Hoossein, the governor, to invest the fort of Merta, subject to Maldew, Raja of Marwar. The King, quitting Ajmere suddenly, returned in three days and nights, attended by a retinue of six persons only to Agra, a distance of more than one hundred and thirty coss.†

A. H. 969.
A. D. 1561.

Mirza Shurf-ood-Deen Hoossein having reached

* This is, I believe, the first instance of a Hindoo chief being ennobled, or employed in any situation of high trust under the Mogul government.

† Two hundred miles.

Merta, Raja Jugmul and Raja Devy Dass, two of the principal chiefs of Marwar, threw themselves into Merta, and prepared for defence. They were closely besieged by the Mirza; who in a few days carried mines under one of the bastions, and formed a practicable breach. A select body of troops, led by the Mirza in person, advanced to the assault: but the storming party was opposed with such bravery that it was obliged to retreat; and on the next morning the Moguls found the breach built up by the enemy. The siege being protracted for some months, and the garrison unable to hold out longer for want of provisions, proposed to capitulate. Terms were granted, by which the besieged were allowed to march out without arms, but with permission to retain their horses. Jugmul, according to stipulation, left all his money and effects in the fort; but Devy Dass, who had been averse to the capitulation, collected five hundred of the garrison, and having burnt all they could not convey with them, rushed out with a determination to cut their way through the enemy. The Mirza, having heard of their intention, caused them to be attacked; but the Rajpoots, fighting with desperate valour, succeeded in making good their retreat, with the loss of two hundred and fifty of their number killed. Among these was Devy Dass himself, whose head his soldiers carried off when they saw him mortally wounded, that it might not fall into the hands of the enemy. Mirza Shurf-ood-Deen Hoossein, after having occupied Merta, wrote an account of

his success to the King, by whom he was honoured with marks of his approbation.

Peer Mahomed Khan, governor of Malwa, taking up his residence in Shadyabad Mando, carried on the war against Baz Bahadur with such success that he compelled him to quit his dominions. He took the strong fort of Beejygur, and put the garrison to the sword, as they obliged him to risk an assault. Baz Bahadur took protection under the ruler of Boorhanpoor, within the limits of Kandeish; and by his aid he made frequent incursions into Malwa, and kept the country in a state of ferment and alarm. Peer Mahomed Khan marched against Boorhanpoor, and sacked the town, when a cruel massacre of the inhabitants ensued, and among these sufferers were many holy men. Baz Bahadur, shortly after, induced Moobarik Khan Farooky, ruler of Kandeish, and Tooffal Khan, ruler of Berar, to aid him, and he advanced towards the Moguls. The latter retreated to Beejygur, where, contrary to the advice of his officers, Peer Mahomed Khan gave battle to the confederates. He was defeated in the action, and eventually drowned in the retreat while crossing the Nerbudda. The confederates pursued the Moguls from place to place as far as Agra, so that Baz Bahadur, in the year 969, recovered all his dominions in Malwa. Subsequent to these disasters, Abdoolla Khan Oozbuk, governor of Kalpy, was appointed to carry on the war against Baz Bahadur, whom he succeeded in expelling a second time from Malwa. Baz Bahadur fled to the mountains of Koombul-

A. H. 969.
A. D. 1561.

mere; and Abdoolla Khan, established himself in Mando, and took up his residence in that city.

Syud Beg, the son of Masoom Beg, a member of the Sufvy family, arrived about this time at the court of Agra, in character of ambassador from the King of Persia, bringing handsome offerings. He received in return presents to the amount of two lacks of rupees.* Mahomed Khan Atka, having some time before been appointed minister at Dehly, with the title of Shahab-ood-Deen, acquired great influnece at court; and Adam Khan Koka, whom we have before seen commanding the army in the first conquest of Malwa, being jealous of his power, endeavoured to effect his ruin; but his intrigues to that end were discovered, and exposed him to shame. Adam Khan had determined in his own mind on the destruction of the minister, and only sought for an opportunity to effect it. At length, one day while Shahab-ood-Deen was sitting in the hall of audience, reading the Koran aloud, Adam Khan entered and saluted him. The minister took no notice of him; for it is not customary on such occasions to do so. Adam Khan, on the impulse of the moment, drew his dagger and stabbed the minister to the heart. Having committed this murder, Adam Khan left the room hastily, and ascended one of the terraces, where he remained till he was seized. The King, who was sleeping in the inner apartments, on hearing the noise, and on ascertaning the cause, arose, and without changing his sleeping dress,

* 20,000*l.*

went to the spot. He was horror-struck at the scene. The body of his minister lay weltering in his blood, while the murderer stood stupified on the neighbouring terrace. The first impulse of Akbur was to draw his sword, and put him to death, but recollecting his dignity, he returned it into the scabbard, and sternly asked the assassin, why he had killed the Vizier? Adam Khan made no reply, but clasping the King's hands, begged for mercy. Akbur shook him from him with disgust, and ordered his attendants to throw him over the terrace-parapet, which was twelve guz* from the ground. Mahim Atka the unfortunate minister's father, died with grief within forty days. It is proper to observe here, that a nurse's husband and her male relations are called Atka: the wet nurse herself, in Toorky, is called Anka: a foster-brother is termed Koka.† Moonyim Khan, formerly governor of Kabul, who was present when the murder was committed, and was supposed to be an accomplice, fled to Lahore, where he was seized and sent to Agra: but as the proofs were insufficient to convict him, he was acquitted, and afterwards became a favourite with the King. The title and estates of the minister were conferred on Mirza Azeez Koka, his eldest

* Twenty-two feet.

† It is observable among nations where much deference is paid by the lower classes to rank, that the relatives of wet nurses identify themselves in a great measure with the children they rear, and a mutual and common interest subsists between them through life. Among the Tartars this feeling is very prevalent; and it exists in a considerable measure both in Ireland and in Scotland at the present day.

son, but not the office. At this time, Adam Gukkur, disturbing the peace of Punjab, the officers of that country were ordered to reduce him, and to place Kumal Gukkur at the head of the tribe. This person had on a former occasion escaped death under extraordinary circumstances. Sulim Shah, having taken a number of Gukkurs in war, ordered a prison wherein they were confined at Gualiar to be blown up by gunpowder; on which occasion Kumal Gukkur had the good fortune to escape, being only thrown to some distance, without receiving any considerable injury. Kumal Gukkur, uniting with the Moguls, marched against his countrymen, and having subdued Adam Gukkur, the latter was made prisoner.

A. H. 970.
A. D. 1562.

Khwaja Moyin, the father of the famous Mirza Shurf-ood-Deen Hoossein, arrived this year, from Toorkistan, at Lahore, where he was met by his son and escorted to Agra, when even Akbur himself went out to congratulate him on his arrival. Not long after this event, Mirza Shurf-ood-Deen Hoossein, suspicious of being seized, fled to Ajmere, and went into rebellion. Hoossein Koolly Khan Zoolkudr, (nephew of the late Beiram Khan, Khan Khanan,) having been appointed to the government of Nagoor, was directed to proceed against the insurgents. Mirza Shurf-ood-Deen receiving intelligence of Hoossein Koolly Khan's approach, left Ajmere and retreated to J'halore on the Guzerat frontier; and Hoossein Koolly Khan, on reaching Ajmere, obtained possession of that fort by capitulation, from one of Mirza

Shurf-ood-Deen's officers. At this time Shah Abool Maaly, a favourite officer of the late Hoomayoon Padshah, returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca; and hearing of the defection of Mirza Shurf-ood-Deen joined him, and marched with a body of horse towards Narnoul. Hoossein Koolly Khan detached two chiefs, Ahmud Beg and Yoosoof Beg, to oppose Shah Abool Maaly, while he marched in person against the Mirza. The first detachment of the royal army was drawn into an ambush, and defeated with great slaughter by Shah Abool Maaly, the two generals having fallen in the action. But Abool Maaly was subsequently compelled to fly before another army sent by the King against him, first to Punjab, and eventually beyond the Indus, when he found protection with the Prince Mahomed Hukeem Mirza, the King's younger brother, at Kabul. That Prince gave to Shah Abool Maaly his sister in marriage; and raised him to the first office in the principality, which at this time paid little or no homage to Akbur. He had not been many months at Kabul, however, before Shah Abool Maaly, aspiring to the government, assassinated the Prince Mahomed Hukeem Mirza's mother,* a woman of uncommon talents, and who, in reality, conducted all the business of her son's government. After which, Shah Abool Maaly assumed the office of regent during the minority of the young Prince. Sooliman Mirza, Prince of Budukhshan, hearing of these proceedings, attacked the usurper, who lost his life in the war. Mirza

A. H. 971.
A. D. 1563.

*Mahomed Hukeem was only half-brother to Akbur, being born of a different mother.

Shurf-ood-Deen Hoossein, after the retreat of Shah Abool Maaly, fled to Ahmudabad in Guzerat.

It was at this time that the King was nearly being assassinated by a retainer of Mirza Shurf-ood-Deen Hoossein. The circumstances are as follow:— While passing on the road to Dehly, one Kootloogh Folad, a slave of Mirza Shurf-ood-Deen, joined the King's retinue, and looking upwards, fixed an arrow in his bow, and pointed it towards the sky, as if going to shoot at some object in the air. The attendants, supposing that he was directing it at a bird, did not interrupt him, till having lowered the direction of the arrow towards the King, he discharged it, and lodged it span-deep into Akbur's shoulder. The weapon was still fast in the flesh, when the assassin was cut to pieces. The arrow, indeed, was with some difficulty extracted at the time, before all the attendants, while the King did not shrink from the operation. In about ten days, the wound having healed, Akbur returned to Agra, and soon after appointed Asuf Khan Hirvy governor of Kurra and Manukpoor.

Without remaining many days at Agra, Akbur proceeded to Nurwur, to hunt elephants; and directed Abdoolla Khan Oozbuk, governor of Malwa, to send his trained elephants to assist in the chase. Abdoolla Khan having lately evinced symptoms of revolt, the King made a sudden incursion into Malwa, in spite of the periodical rains, and was joined by Mahomed Kasim Khan Nyshapoory, jageerdar of Sarungpoor, on the route; but no sooner had the army arrived at Oojein than Abdoolla Khan Oozbuk, with all his

forces and treasure, retreated to Guzerat. The King pursued him about fifty miles, with a small body of cavalry; but he was so steadily opposed by Abdoolla Khan, in the end, that he was compelled to retreat. The King fell back on Mando, where he spent some time in viewing the buildings erected by the kings of the Khiljian dynasty. During his residence there, he received in marriage the daughter of Meeran Moobarik Khan, ruler of Kandeish, who came to pay his respects and do homage. Having provided for the government of Malwa, by the nomination of Kurra Bahadur, the King returned towards his capital. On the road, he fell in with a herd of wild elephants near Seepry Kolarus.* He ordered his cavalry to surround and drive them into a kedda, or fold, constructed for the purpose; which was effected with some difficulty. One of the male elephants, finding himself confined, broke through the palisadoes, and got into the plain. Three trained elephants were sent after him, but before he was overpowered he afforded much sport.

A. H. 972.
A. D. 1564.

In the year 972, Khwaja Maâzim, the husband of the King's aunt, was committed to prison, where he died. In the same year, also, the old wall of Agra, built of bricks, was demolished, and the foundation of the new wall, of red stone, was laid, which was completed at the end of four years.

Owing to the intrigues of Abdoolla Khan Oozbuk, so often mentioned, it was currently reported,

* In the present day there are not such forests near Seepry Kolarus as to afford shelter for droves of elephants.

that the King had taken such a dislike to all of his tribe, that he intended to seize and imprison the whole of the Oozbuk chiefs. This rumour gained such credit, that Sikundur Khan and Ibrahim Khan, Oozbuks, beside others who had governments in the neighbourhood of Joonpoor and Behar, went into open revolt. Khan Zuman and his brother Bahadur Khan Seestany, who, though their mother was a native of Isfahan, and they were both born in Erak, yet being of Oozbuk descent on their father's side, identified themselves with the insurgents. Asuf Khan Hirvy, governor of Kurra, also withheld a part of the King's treasure in his hands, and took part with them, so that, in a short time, the rebels mustered a force of thirty thousand horse, with which they ravaged the territories of Behar and Joonpoor.

The King, without appearing to notice the revolt, proceeded on a hunting party towards Nurwur, in an opposite direction from the scene, but he took secret measures to dissolve the confederacy. Ashruf Khan Moonshy was employed privately to endeavour to bring Sikundur Khan Oozbuk over from his faction ; and Lushkur Khan Bukhshy was sent with a body of horse to seize the treasure of Asuf Khan Hirvy. The story regarding this treasure is as follows :—

When Asuf Khan was raised to the rank of a noble of five thousand horse, and procured the goverment of Kurra Manikpoor, he obtained permission of the King to subdue a country called Gurra, at that time governed by a Rany (a Hindoo queen) whose name was Doorgawutty, as celebrated for her beauty as for her good sense.

Asuf Khan Hirvy heard of the riches of this country, and visited with constant depredations, till at length he marched with a force of between five and six thousand cavalry and infantry to Gurra. The Queen opposed him with an army of fifteen hundred elephants, and eight thousand horse and foot. Under these circumstances a sanguinary battle took place, in which the Queen, who was on an elephant, having received an arrow in her eye, was unable to give orders; but apprehending the disgrace of being taken prisoner, she snatched a dagger out of the girdle of the elephant driver, and stabbed herself. Her country fell into the hands of Asuf Khan Hirvy. Asuf Khan next proceeded to Chouraghur, and took it by storm, and the son of the Rany, or Queen, who was but an infant, was trodden to death in the confusion. Independently of the jewels, the images of gold and silver, and other valuables, no fewer than a hundred jars of gold coins of the reign of Alla-ood-Deen Khiljy also fell into the hands of the conqueror. Of all this booty Asuf Khan presented to the King only a small part; and of a thousand elephants, which he took, he sent only three hundred indifferent animals to the King, and none of the jewels.

Finding that Lushkur Khan was unable to subdue Asuf Khan, the King determined to march in person to Gurra. Leaving Nurwur, therefore, he continued his route for some days; but was seized with a fever owing to the extreme heat which prevails in that sandy soil, and returned to Agra. On this occasion he detached Shaheen Khan Julabir, Shah Boodagh Khan, Mahomed Ameen Diwana, and other officers, against Sikundur

Khan Oozbuk. This army was defeated, and the principal officers, Shah Boodagh Khan and Mahomed Ameen Diwana, were taken prisoners. The King having sufficiently recovered, sent Moonyim Khan, Khan Khanan, with another army against the Oozbuks, and in the month of Shuval, 973, followed in person.

Shuval, A. H. 973. April, A. D. 1566.

On reaching Kunowj, Akbur selected a body of horse, and made a forced march towards Luknow to surprise Sikundur Khan; but the latter gained information of this movement, and evacuating the place joined Khan Zuman, with whom he crossed the Ganges. The King, proceeding to Joonpoor, was met by Asuf Khan Hirvy, who now sued for pardon; and through the mediation of Mujnoon Khan was admitted to the presence, and restored to favour. A few days afterwards Asuf Khan Hirvy was detached with five thousand horse against the confederated Oozbuk chiefs. On arriving at the ferry of Hundia, Asuf Khan was opposed by the enemy, and instead of endeavouring to force the passage of the river, he exhausted the time in idle negotiations, for which he had no authority. The King, informed of his negligence, deprived him of his office as governor of Joonpoor, on which both Asuf Khan and his brother quitted the army, and again retired to Gurra.

Moonyim Khan was ordered to take charge of the division which Asuf Khan had thus forsaken; but the confederates, under Sikundur Khan and Bahadur Khan, having in the mean time crossed

the Jumna, raised disturbances in the Dooab, while Khan Zuman defeated a body of the King's troops on the banks of the Ganges. Akbur, informed of these events, sent a division, under the command of Meer Moiz-ool-Moolk, to arrest the progress of the Oozbuks. At this time, Khan Zuman, repenting of the part he had taken, deputed his mother and Ibrahim Khan Oozbuk to convey a number of elephants and other presents to the King; and through the intercession of Moonyim Khan he was not only pardoned, but all his estates and honours were restored to him.

Meer Moiz-ool-Moolk having overtaken Sikundur Khan Oozbuk and Bahadur Khan Seestany, was on the point of attacking them, when he received a message from the latter, acquainting him that his brother, Khan Zuman, had sent his mother with presents to the King, to intercede for pardon, and proposed, therefore, that he should suspend hostilities, till he heard the result of that negotiation. Meer Moiz-ool-Moolk paid no regard to the communication, but proceeded to the attack, obliging Sikundur Khan to fall back, with great loss, on the main body of the army, commanded by Bahadur Khan. The royalists, on the retreat of Sikundur Khan, concluding the victory was complete, pursued the enemy without observing any order; but they were received so steadily by Bahadur Khan Seestany, that in the end they sustained a total defeat; and flying, panic-struck, could not be induced to stand, and face the pursuers, so that the insurgents gained an entire victory; nor did the royalist general halt, with the

scattered remains of his army, till he conveyed news of his own disaster to the King at Kunowj.

Akbur, in the mean time, having concluded terms with Khan Zuman, went to Chunar and Benares; but the news of the late action no sooner reached Khan Zuman than he again revolted, and occupied Ghazipoor and the adjacent country. The King very naturally accused Moonyim Khan, through whose mediation Khan Zuman had been pardoned, of betraying him; and having caused the mother of the latter to be confined in Joonpoor, proceeded with all expedition against him. Bahadur Khan Seestany, taking advantage of the King's absence, attacked Joonpoor, and carried it by escalade, where he released his mother,* and placed Ashruf Khan, the governor, with all the principal persons in the garrison, in confinement.

Akbur, on learning the capture of Joonpoor, and conceiving the war in that quarter to be of the first importance, relinquished the pursuit of Khan Zuman, and returned thither. Here he issued orders, commanding all the governors of the neighbouring provinces to join him with their forces. Bahadur Khan, seeing such formidable preparations in the provinces which remained loyal, evacuated Joonpoor, and fled towards Benares, as Akbur approached, and despairing of success, addressed the King a second time for pardon, which was granted; and the restoration of his estates and honours also took place. It was observed by one of the kings of old, "If a "king's subjects only knew the pleasure there is in

*She was the mother both of Khan Zuman and Bahadur Khan Seestany.

"conferring a favour, they would never approach "him but with a request;" and in reality there is a gratification in having it in one's power to pardon, far superior to that of indulging in revenge. The King, after passing his royal word, ordered Khan Zuman to court; but he excused himself, pretending "that shame for "his past offences alone prevented him "from appearing in the presence, till "time should have convinced his Majesty of his "loyalty; but that when the King should return "to Agra, both he and his brother Bahadur "Khan would at a future time pay their respects." On his arrival at Agra, Akbur deputed Mehdy Kasim Khan, with four thousand horse, to march against Asuf Khan Hirvy, and expel him from Gurra, of which he still retained possession.

A. H. 974.
A. D. 1566.

Khan Zuman, so far from having reformed, took this opportunity to strengthen his party, and sought an alliance with Asuf Khan Hirvy; but the latter, finding himself neglected by Khan Zuman, retreated sullenly to Gurra, to which place he was pursued by Bahadur Khan, defeated, and taken prisoner. Asuf Khan's brother, Vizier Khan, escaped during the action; and having rallied the troops, returned at night, surprised the conquerors, and rescued Asuf Khan. The brothers now proceeded to Gurra, which they retained in their hands in spite of the King.

About this time an envoy arrived, on the part of Mahomed Hukeem Mirza, from Kabul, acquainting him that Sooliman Mirza, chief of Budukhshan, had from the time he defeated and slew Shah Abool Maaly

continued to read the Khootba in his own name; that he had appointed one Mirza Sooltan to rule in Kabul on his behalf, but that Mahomed Hukeem Mirza having expelled him, Sooliman Mirza was again preparing to invade Kabul. Under these circumstances, he earnestly entreated the King's aid to oppose him. The King, dreading the encroachments of his northern enemies more than those in the eastern provinces, ordered the officers in Punjab to place themselves under the orders of Mahomed Koolly Khan, governor of Mooltan, and march to the aid of Mahomed Hukeem Mirza, as soon as they should learn for certain of Sooliman Mirza's advance on Kabul. Fureedoon Khan Kabully was also sent from the presence, with his corps, to support Mahomed Hukeem Mirza; but before the King's orders reached Punjab or Mooltan, Sooliman Mirza had invested Kabul, and Mahomed Hukeem Mirza being unsupported, was compelled to evacuate it. He fled to the eastward, and retreating in the direction of the Indus, was met by Fureedoon Khan, marching to his assistance. This chief recommended Mahomed Hukeem Mirza to seize upon Lahore, as an equivalent for the loss he had sustained, and assured him that Akbur was in no condition to oppose him, being already engaged in a war with the Oozbuks, who had seized all the eastern provinces; he observed, also, that being once in possession of Lahore and the Punjab, he would find little difficulty, at some future time, in expelling Sooliman Mirza from Kabul. Mahomed Hukeem Mirza did not hesitate to adopt this advise; and

taking measures to put it into execution, marched towards Lahore, in conjunction with Fureedoon Khan. The Prince's design, however, was soon made public; and the officers of Punjab, particularly Kootub Khan Atka and Peer Mahomed Khan,* threw troops into the city of Lahore, and prepared for its defence. Mahomed Hukeem Mirza, meanwhile, arrived before Lahore, and in vain used every art and persuasion to gain over those officers to his interest.

Akbur, conceiving no time should be lost in counteracting his brother's plans, laid aside for the present his projected expedition against the Oozbuks in the Dooab, and directed his march to Lahore. Agra was left under the government of his faithful general, Moonyim Khan, and on the 14th of Juman-ool-Awul the King moved to the north. The news of his arrival at Surhind having reached Lahore, the citizens began to beat their drums, and to sound their trumpets for joy. This unusual noise attracted the attention of Mahomed Hukeem Mirza, who was asleep at the time: he asked what it meaned, and was told that the King in person had come expeditiously from Agra. Mahomed Hukeem Mirza, believing that Akbur was close on Lahore, mounted his horse on the spur of the moment, and retreated precipitately with his cavalry towards Kabul; and fortunately reached that city so opportunely as to take

Jumad-ool-Awul 14. A. H. 974. Nov. 28. A. D. 1566.

* This person is distinct from him who was the King's preceptor, and who lost his life in crossing the Nerbudda. Vide p. 210.

it by surprise, Sooliman Mirza having retired to Budukhshan during the winter. The King, in the mean time, advanced slowly to Lahore, where he spent a few days in hunting, and was suddenly joined by Vizier Khan, the brother of Asuf Khan Hirvy, who had come to court to obtain pardon for the offences of his brother and himself; which was not only granted, but they were directed to act in conjunction with Mujnoon Khan Khakshal, for the protection of Kurra Manukpoor.

About this time the sons and descendants of Mahomed Sooltan Mirza went into rebellion. This Prince derives his descent in the paternal line from Ameer Teimoor Korkan, as is stated in the memoirs of Babur, his mother being the daughter of Sooltan Hoossein Mirza. During the reign of Hoomayoon, he evinced the blackest ingratitude to that monarch, but he was generously pardoned. His eldest son, Alugh Mirza, fell in action against the Huzaras, and his youngest son, Shah Mirza, died a natural death. Alugh Mirza left two sons, Sikundur and Mahomed; though Hoomayoon Padshah used to call the eldest by the name of his father, Alugh Mirza, and the youngest by that of his uncle, Shah Mirza.* Taking these children under his own especial care, he caused them to be educated at court; and on the accession of Akbar Padshah to the throne, Mahomed Sooltan Mirza returned to India, and had the district of Sumbhul conferred on him for his maintenance.

* See genealogy of the Mogul dynasty.

Notwithstanding his advanced age, Mahomed Sooltan Mirza had four sons afterwards; viz.

1. Mahomed Hoossein Mirza.
2. Ibrahim Mirza.
3. Hoossein Mirza.
4. Akil Mirza.

All of whom were enrolled among the nobles of Akbur's court, while still in their minority; and after attending the King's army in the late war against the Oozbuks of Joonpoor, they retired to their estates at Sumbhul. When the King subsequently proceeded against Mahomed Hukeem Mirza in the Punjab, these four chiefs, in conjunction with their nephews, Sikundur and Mahomed, (entitled Alugh Mirza, and Shah Mirza,) went into rebellion, and collecting a number of disaffected persons, commenced to levy contributions on the King's provinces. The jageerdars in their vicinity, however, treating them as common marauders, expelled them from Sumbhul, from whence they proceeded to Malwa. Moonyim Khan, in the mean time, contrived to obtain possession of the person of Mahomed Sooltan Mirza and placing him in confinement in Byana, he remained there till he died a natural death.

The Oozbuk chiefs, availing themselves of the King's absence, took Kunowj and Oude, and extended their conquest on all quarters. These events obliged him to return to Agra, where having collected his troops, he proceeded to Joonpoor. Khan Zuman Khan, who was then besieging

Yoosoof Khan in the fort of Sheergur, hearing of the King's approach, retreated to Kurra, in which place his brother, Bahadur Khan Seestany, had closely beset Mujnoon Khan and Asuf Khan Hirvy. The King continued in pursuit of Khan Zuman; and on reaching the town of Ray Barely, heard that he had crossed the Ganges, and was in full retreat to Malwa, either to join the sons of Mahomed Sooltan Mirza, or to form an alliance with the Kings of the Deccan. This information determined Akbur, if possible, to overtake him. On arriving at the ferry of Manukpoor, in the evening, no boats being procurable, he mounted his elephant, and, contrary to the advice of his officers, urged the animal into the river which was then deep. He had the good fortune to pass in safety without the necessity of the elephant swimming; but his body guard, one hundred of whom plunged into the stream, gained the opposite bank with difficulty. With this small party Akbur proceeded, and in the morning, appeared before the enemy's camp, where Asuf Khan Hirvy and Mujnoon Khan joined him with the garrison of Kurra.

A. H. 974.
A. D. 1566.

The enemy, little supposing the King would attempt to cross the river without his army, passed the night in festivity, and could hardly believe their senses when they heard the royal nukara.* They lost no time, however, informing their line and a battle ensued, which commenced at nine o'clock,

* The royal kettle-drum.

Zeehuj 1. A. H. 975. June 6, A. D. 1566.

on Monday the 1st of Zeehuj, A.H. 974. Baba Khan Kajar, who commanded the King's advanced party, penetrated into the camp of the insurgents, but was repulsed by Bahadur Khan Seestany; and falling back in confusion on the King's line, created some disorder. Bahadur Khan Seestany, following up his advantage, penetrated to the spot where the King commanded in person. Akbur found it necessary to dismount from his elephant, and take to his horse; but an arrow having killed Bahadur Khan's charger at this very moment, he was obliged to retreat on foot, and his party dispersed. The King now commanded his elephants to advance rapidly, and the enemy were driven off the field. Khan Zuman received an arrow wound, which he was in the act of extracting, when his horse also fell; and before he could mount another, the elephant called Hursook, pushing forward, trod him to death. Bahadur Khan was taken prisoner during the action; and when brought before the King, he was asked what injury he had sustained to provoke him to draw his sword against him? He made no defence, but exclaimed, "Praise be to God that he "has reserved me once more to see your Ma-"jesty's countenance." The King ordered him to be taken care of; but the fate of Khan Zuman being still unknown, some of the officers put him to death without orders. The heads of the two brothers were sent to Punjab and Kabul. Jan Ally Beg Oozbuk, Yar Ally Beg, Mirza Beg, Khooshal Beg, Mirza Shah Beg, and Ally Shah

Budukhshy, were all made prisoners; and having accompanied the King as far as Joonpoor, they were trodden to death by elephants. After this victory, the government of Joonpoor was conferred on Moonyim Khan, Khan Khanan. Sikundur Khan Oozbuk, who was now besieged in the fort of Oude, was compelled to fly to Gorukpoor. The rebellion of the Oozbuks was thus considered at an end, so that in the month of Mohurrum, 975, the army returned to Agra. After these events, the King marched against Rana Oody Sing, who had not yet submitted to the Mogul arms. Having reached Shewpoor, the governor, evacuating the place, took refuge with Soorjun Ray, the Raja of Runtunbhore; and Akbur, having left a garrison in Shewpoor, proceeded to the fort of Gungrar, on the frontier of Malwa. The sons of Mahomed Sooltan Mirza, now in Mando, hearing of his approach, were not without apprehension for themselves; and Alugh Mirza dying about this time, the other Mirzas fled to Guzerat.

Mohurrum, A. H. 975. July, A. D. 1567.

The King left Malwa under charge of Shahab-ood-Deen Ahmud Khan Nyshapoory, and marched from Gungrar to Chittoor. Here the Rana leaving eight thousand Rajpoots with an ample supply of provisions in the fort, retired with his family to a country he deemed more inaccessible. Akbur, having invested Chittoor, employed five thousand workmen of different descriptions to conduct the siege. The approaches were made by *sabat*, a description of defence for the besiegers peculiar to

India.* The *sabats* are constructed in the following manner. The zig-zags, commencing at gunshot distance from the fort, consist of a double wall, and by means of blinds or stuffed gabions covered with leather the besiegers continue their approaches till they arrive near to the walls of the place to be attacked. The miners then proceed to sink their shafts, and carry on their galleries under ground, for the construction of the mines, in which having placed the powder and blown up the works, the storming party rushes from the *sabat*, or superior galleries, and assaults the place.† On the present occasion, two *sabats*, or superior galleries, having been constructed, two mines were carried under bastions at different spots, and they were both fired at the same time. It happened that one of them exploded

* The arts of mining and the construction of military field-works seem to have been familiar to the nations of India for many ages. The skill they displayed at the siege of Ahmudnuggur in 1595, against the Moguls, and in those of Kerowly in 1807, and of Bhurtpoor in 1826, against British troops, from whom they could not have learned the science of mining, bespeaks the fact: while our armies in Nepal in 1814, and in the late Burmese war, experienced the facility and rapidity with which nations unacquainted either with Mahomedans or Europeans are accustomed to construct military field-works, and the judgment they display in the selection of advantageous positions for them.

† It is curious to perceive how completely this mode of attack corresponds with the practice of Vauban and the best engineers of modern times, and serves to show how scientific and methodical the Moguls were in the conduct of sieges two centuries and a half ago. The double walls alluded to are the contents of the trenches thrown up on each side of the approaches. The stuffed gabions were rolled on in front of the workmen, as is customary at the present day in Europe.

before the other, and a practicable breach was formed. Two thousand men, prepared to storm, advanced immediately, under the supposition that both mines had been sprung, and the parties divided, in order to enter both breaches at once. One of the mines, however, exploded, only just as one of the parties got close over it, when five hundred men were killed, besides a number of the enemy who were crowded on the bastion. Of the Moguls, fifteen officers suffered on this occasion, among whom were Syud Jumal-ood-Deen Khan Barha Murdan Koolly Shah and others. The consequence was, that both attacks failed. Other mines were directed to be constructed, and as the works were in progress, the King, while in the batteries, observed Jugmul, the governor of the place, superintending the repairing of the breaches, and giving his orders by torchlight. Akbur, seizing a matchlock from one of his attendants, fired at him, and was so fortunate as to lodge the ball in Jugmul's forehead. The spirit of the besieged fell with their governor: and in their despair, they performed the ceremony of the jowhur, and putting their wives and children to death, burned them with the corpse of their chief on a funeral pile. The King, perceiving what was in progress within the fort, advanced under the cover of night to the breaches, and found them abandoned, so that he entered the fort without opposition. Daylight appeared, and still not a soul was to be seen of the garrison; all had retired to their temples, and, as usual, refused quarter. The King, mounting his elephant, ordered the temples

to be stormed, when ten thousand Rajpoots fell in the assault, while, with the exception of one Noosrut Ally, not a Mahomedan lost his life. The command of Chittoor being conferred on Asuf Khan Hirvy, the King returned to his capital.

On the road to Agra, a tiger being roused, Akbur directed no one to approach it; but riding forward himself, he discharged several arrows at him. The animal remained quiet below some rising ground, on which the King had taken post. Akbur now fired a musket-shot, which having struck the brute he rushed directly upon him. Adil Khan, one of the attendants, gallantly interposing, wounded the tiger severely with his sword, and other men having run in, cut the tiger in pieces with their swords.

At Agra Akbur received advices that Ibrahim Mirza and Mahomed Hoossein Mirza, having separated from Chungiz Khan,* the ruler of Guzerat, had returned to Malwa, and commenced hostilities by laying siege to Oojein. Kullich Khan Indijany and Khwaja Gheias-ood-Deen Kuzveeny Bukhshy were accordingly deputed to expel them; and on their approach, the Mirzas retreating precipitately, crossed the Nurbudda, and again sought refuge in Guzerat.

Rujub, A. H. 976. December, A. D. 1568.

In the month of Rujub, in the year 976, the King marched from Agra to reduce Runtunbhore, then in possession of Raja Soorjun Ray, who having purchased the fort from Hijaz Khan, an officer of

* After the expulsion of Hoomayoon's generals from Guzerat, Bahadur Shah recovered his kingdom, which retained its independence up to the time at which the present history has arrived.

Sulim Shah's time, resolved to defend it. On
Rumzan 22. A. H. 976. March 17. A. D. 1569. the 22d of Rumzan, 976, the King invested the place, and caused a battery to be constructed on an adjoining hill, called Mudun; where he posted a few guns, a measure no one had ever before attempted. At every discharge a number of the houses were laid in ruins, till at length Raja Soorjun Ray capitulating, he was permitted to march out unmolested with all his family.

Akbur, after this conquest, made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Khwaja Moyin-ood-Deen Chishty, at Ajmere, and returned to Agra; from whence he proceeded to visit the venerable Sheikh Sulim Chishty, in the village of Seekry. As all the King's children had hitherto died, he solicited the Sheikh's prayers, who consoled him, by assuring him he would soon have a son, who would live to a good old age. Shortly after, the favourite Sooltana, being then pregnant, on Wed-
Rubbee-ool-Awul 17. A. H. 977. Sept. 2. A. D. 1569. nesday the 17th of Rubbee-ool-Awul, in the year 977, was delivered of a son, who was called Sulim. On this occasion the King published an act of grace to all prisoners; and having performed a pilgrimage on foot to the shrine of Khwaja Moyin-ood-Deen, at Ajmere, returned by the route of Dehly, enjoying the diversion of the chase on his road back.

Preparations were now made for the siege of Kalunjur. Raja Ram Chundur, who had obtained possession of this fort from the officers of Sulim Shah, had heard of the fate of the garrison of Chittoor, and accordingly made terms for delivering

Mohurrum 3. A. H. 978. June 7. A. D. 1570. Kalunjur to the King. On the 3d of Mohurrum, 978, the King had another son born to him in the house of the venerable Sheikh Sulim, whom he called Moorad. On this occasion, also, he made another pilgrimage to Ajmere, and ordered the town to be fortified with a stone wall. From thence he proceeded to Nagore, where Chunder Sein, the son of Raja Maldew, and Kullian Mull, the Raja of Bhikanere, came out to meet him with valuable presents. The King having received the daughter of Raja Kullian Mull in marriage, marched from Nagore to Ajoodhun, when having visited the shrine of Sheikh Fureed-ood-Deen Gunj Shukur, he proceeded to Depalpoor, where Mirza Azeez Koka, the governor, made handsome presents.

Suffur 1. A. H. 979. June 24. A. D. 1577. On the 1st of Suffur, 979, the Emperor marched towards Hissar Feroza, and proceeded by the route of Ajmere to Agra. Sikundur Khan Oozbuk, who had been long wandering among the woods of Bengal, was now introduced by Moonyim Khan, governor of Joonpoor, to the King, and on due contrition received the royal pardon.

The King considering the village of Seekry a particularly propitious spot, two of his sons having been born there, he ordered the foundation of a city to be laid, which, after the conquest of Guzerat, he called Futtehpoor. The government of Guzerat being torn by intestine factions, Akbur thought proper to proceed thither in person; and having marched to Ajmere, and paid his devotions at the sainted shrines, and

solicited the prayers of Khwaja Syud Hoossein Khing-Sowar, he detached his general, Khwaja Kullan, in advance, following himself with the main body of the army. In the mean time he appointed Ray Sing to the government of Jodpoor, the former residence of Raja Maldew. When arrived within two marches of Nagore, the King received advice of the birth of another son, on the second of Jumad-ool-Awul, in the house of Sheikh Daniel, whom he called Daniel Mirza.

Jumad-ool-Awul 2. A. H. 980. Sept. 9. A. D. 1572.

The King's army appearing before Puttun, in Guzerat, Sheer Khan Folady, an officer of rank in the Guzerat kingdom, abandoned his post and fled. The government was conferred on Syud Ahmud Khan Barha, and the army marched in the course of a week in the direction of Ahmudabad. Before it had proceeded two stages, Moozuffur Shah, King of Guzerat, came to meet Akbur, and was introduced by Meer Aboo Toorab Shirazy, who, though a native of Guzerat, was of true Syud descent, and born of Persian parents.

On the following day, Etimad Khan, Syud Chand Khan Bokhary, Yekhtyar-ool-Moolk, Mullik Ashruf, Wujee-ool-Moolk, Aluf Khan Hubshy, Joojhar Khan Hubshy, and other Guzerat chiefs, came to pay their respects; but as the Hubshies* were strongly suspected of disaffection to the Moguls, they were for the present kept under restraint. The city of Ahmudabad fell in this manner without a blow into the hands of Akbur Padshah, as will appear in detail in the history of the kings of

* Abyssinians.

Guzerat. Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza, however, was still at the head of an independent army at Baroach, and his brother, Mahomed Hoossein Mirza, at the head of another considerable force near Surat. Yekhtyar-ool-Moolk, also, one of the Guzerat officers who had joined the King, fled at this time, in order to create an insurrection. It was thought proper, therefore, that the other Guzerat chiefs should be placed under restraint. On the arrival of the army at Cambay, the King appointing Mirza Azeez Koka governor of Ahmudabad, proceeded towards Baroach: but Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza, hearing of Akbur's approach, and suspecting the fidelity of Roostoom Khan Roomy, one of his officers, put him to death; and having resolved to avoid the Mogul army by about forty coss (sixty miles), determined to march into Punjab, and create an insurrection in that quarter. The King receiving intelligence of Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza's intentions at nine o'clock at night, took a small body of horse with him, leaving in camp his son, the Prince Sulim, under charge of Khwaja Jehan and Kullich Khan Indijany, and marched with expedition to cut off Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza's retreat. Next day on reaching the river Mhendry, which runs by the town of Surtal, the King found his party reduced to forty troopers, and he could perceive Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza encamped with one thousand men on the opposite bank of the river. At this crisis Syud Mahmood Khan Barha, Raja Bugwandas, Raja Man-Sing, Shah Koolly Khan, Soorjun Ray, Raja of Runtunbhore, and other

A. H. 980.
A. D. 1572.

chiefs,* who had been detached to Surat, and had been recalled, joined the King with seventy horsemen. With this small reinforcement, without waiting for more troops, which would shortly have arrived, Akbur resolved to attack the enemy. His whole party did not exceed one hundred and fifty-six men. Raja Man-Sing led the advance, and having crossed the river first, instantly charged Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza ; but he was so galled by the enemy's archers, that he was compelled to fall back ; and the King, who was with this band of Rajpoots, found it necessary to halt in a lane, formed by hedges of the prickly pear,† which did not admit of more than three horsemen riding abreast. In this situation, three of the enemy's horsemen galloped up the lane, and attacked Akbur as he stood in advance of his men. Raja Bhugwandas gallantly threw himself forward, and received one of the horsemen on his spear, dismounted him, and having instantly charged another, the remaining horsemen fled, and was pursued by Raja Bhugwandas and his brother. The latter displayed, on this day, the heroism of Roostoom and Isfundyar, and penetrating beyond the lane, he repeatedly charged through a body of one hundred men, and eventually lost his life. The King, meanwhile, following him galled the enemy with arrows, till perceiving Ibrâhim

* The employment of these Hindoo chiefs is a remarkable feature in the policy of Akbur; and to it chiefly must be ascribed the rapid progress of his power.

† A species of coarse Euphorbia, admirably calculated for hedges.

Hoossein Mirza, he charged full at him, but the latter having a more speedy horse effected his escape. We hardly know any instance of a King having displayed so much individual courage and intrepidity as Akbur did throughout this transaction, though it must be admitted he exposed his own person very unnecessarily. The King, contenting himself with this achievement, desisted from pursuit, and waiting till his army arrived, marched and laid siege to Surat. In this place was Goolrokh Begum, the daughter of Kamran Mirza, and wife of Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza.* On the appearance of the Dehly troops, the Princess fled to the Deccan, leaving the officers of her husband to defend the place, but carrying with her an infant son, Moozuffur Mirza. Meanwhile the other Mirzas having collected troops in the vicinity of Puttun, held a council of war, in which it was resolved that Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza, and his younger brother Musaood Hoossein Mirza, should prosecute a predatory warfare in Punjab, and that Mahomed Hoossein Mirza and Shah Mirza, in conjunction with Sheer Khan Folady, should attack Puttun, in order to make a diversion thereby in favour of Surat.

Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza having reached Nagore, Ray Sing, governor of Jodpoor, went in pursuit, and coming up with him one evening, at a place where there was no water but what Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza had secured, was induced to attack him without a moment's delay; on which occasion many persons on both sides lost their

* She was, consequently, Akbur's first cousin.

A. H. 981. A. D. 1573.

lives. Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza's horse being killed, his army gave way; but mounting another horse, he fled towards Dehly, and giving up his intentions on Lahore, proceeded to his paternal estate of Sumbhul. Mahomed Hoossein Mirza, Shah Mirza, and Sheer Khan Folady, still conducted the siege of Puttun, defended by Syud Ahmud Khan Barha, till Mirza Azeez Koka, coming to its relief with the army from Ahmudabad, the Mirzas gave him battle. Mirza Azeez Koka had at first the disadvantage by both his wings being thrown into disorder, when Roostoom Khan, and Mootullub Khan rallying the troops, made another and successful charge, when they broke the army of Mahomed Hoossein Mirza, who fled towards the Deccan.

As soon as the batteries were constructed at Surat for besieging the place, the inhabitants of the town, unable to resist, surrendered, and the King having gained his object, marched to Ahmudabad. Shurf-ood-Deen Hoossein Mirza, who having fled ten years before had found protection with the Raja of Buglana, a prince of the Deccan, attempted at this time to penetrate through the hills, and unite with the other Mirzas now in revolt; but being seized by the Raja with whom he had sought an asylum, he was delivered up into the King's hands, when after being degraded he was sent to the fort of Gualiar, where he eventually died. The mother of Chungiz Khan, the late regent of Guzerat, at this time preferred a complaint to Akbur, that Joojhar Khan Hubshy had put her son to death. The King, who only wanted an excuse to get rid of Joojhar Khan, caused him to

be trod to death by an elephant; and having distributed the several districts of Guzerat among the relatives of Mirza Azeez Koka, he returned to Agra, which he reached on the 2d of Suffur, A. H. 981.

Suffur 2. A. H. 981. June 4. A. D. 1573.

Meanwhile Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza arrived at Sumbhul, and hearing that the chiefs of Punjab, under Hoossein Koolly Khan, were engaged in besieging the fort of Nagrakote, he resolved to march to that quarter, which he expected to find unprotected; and after plundering it, he intended to join his friends in Guzerat, by the route of Sind. Hoossein Koolly Khan, learning his intentions, raised the siege of Nagrakote, and pursued Ibrahim Mirza throughout Punjab, till he reached Tutta on the Indus, where, having heard that he had gone to some distance on a hunting excursion, he attacked his camp. Musaood Hoossein Mirza, Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza's brother, who commanded in his absence, sent off an express to his brother; but before Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza arrived, Musaood Hoossein was defeated and taken prisoner, having lost many men in the action. Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza having returned from hunting, and perceiving the situation in which he was placed, made up his mind to death, and rallying a part of his men renewed the action, but being defeated, he fled to Mooltan. Here he was intercepted by the Bullochies, by whom he was severely wounded, and taken prisoner, and shortly after beheaded by Mukhsoos Khan, the governor of Mooltan. This chief, in company with Hoossein Koolly Khan, carried the Mirza's head, and all his effects, to Agra. Akbur ordered the head to be placed

above one of the gates of Agra; and caused his brother Musaood Hoossein Mirza to be confined in the fort of Gualiar till his death. In the month

Rubbee-ool-Awul, A. H. 981. July, A. D. 1573.

of Rubbee-ool-Awul of the same year, advices arrived from Mirza Azeez Koka, that Yekhtyar-ool-Moolk, one of the former chiefs of Guzerat, and Mahomed Hoossein Mirza, having united their arms, occupied several districts in that province, and were then besieging Ahmudabad. Under these circumstances, the presence of the King seemed absolutely necessary to retrieve the affairs in that quarter. The rainy season had commenced, and it being impracticable to march a large army, he selected two thousand of his most efficient cavalry, and sent them on before him; while Akbur, attended by three hundred persons, chiefly nobles, mounted on camels, and accompanied by led horses, followed at the rate of four stages every day, and overtook his troops at the city of Puttun, when he mustered altogether three thousand men and horses. Having organised this little force, he directed Mirza Abdool Ruheem, the son of Beiram Khan Toorkoman, to take command of the advance, and the remainder was formed into three divisions; a centre and two wings, reserving a hundred men as his personal guard. With this force the King marched to Ahmudabad. On his approach, he sent forward an officer to give notice to the besieged; and on arriving

A. H. 981. A. D. 1573.

within four miles of the city, he ordered the nobut to beat. The enemy were astonished, but instantly prepared for action.

Mahomed Hoossein Mirza, having drawn up his troops, went with a few horse to the banks of the river to reconnoitre; and perceiving Soobhan Koolly Khan, who had been sent on by the King to examine the ford, asked him whose army it was? Soobhan Koolly Khan replied, that it was an army commanded by the King in person. The other said, "It is impossible; for it is only "fourteen days since one of my spies saw him in "Agra; and I perceive none of the royal ele-"phants." Soobhan Koolly Khan replied, "It is "only nine days since he marched, and it is clear "no elephants could have accompanied him."

Mahomed Hoossein Mirza returning immediately to his camp, directed Yekhtyar-ool-Moolk, with five thousand horse, to watch the gates of Ahmudabad, and prevent a sally, while he marched with seven thousand horse to oppose Akbur. The King had by this time reached the banks of the river, expecting every moment to be joined by part of the garrison; but the gates being commanded by the enemy, that aid became impracticable. Akbur accordingly crossed the river, and drew up on the plain. Mahomed Hoossein Mirza, at the head of fifteen hundred Moguls, attacked the centre of the royalists, Shah Mirza charged the right, and the Afghans and Rajpoots, under Sheer Khan Folady, the left. The battle raged with fury on both sides, when the King, with his personal guard of a hundred men, charged Mahomed Hoossein Mirza in flank. That Prince, now losing all presence of mind, fled, which being observed by his troops, on the right and left, they broke in confusion. Mahomed Hoossein Mirza received a wound in his face;

his horse was also wounded, notwithstanding which he endeavoured to leap him over a hedge of the Euphorbia plant; but, owing to the weakness of the animal, they both fell, and he was made prisoner. Several persons contending for the honour of taking him, the King asked him who took him? Mahomed Hoossein Mirza, holding down his head, replied, "Nobody: the curse of ingratitude overtook me;" and indeed he spoke truth. After the action, the King sat down below a rising ground, with about two hundred horse, waiting for Mirza Azeez Koka to join him, when a body of troops appearing, and most of his own men being at a distance, his small party began to be alarmed. The person he sent to enquire who they were, brought word that they consisted of the division of Yekhtyar-ool-Moolk, Guzeratty; who, having learned the fate of the other detachment, was now coming to retrieve the day. Akbur caused his two hundred men to gall them with arrows as they advanced; and as the drummers neglected to beat the signal for rallying, he went himself, and made them strike the nukara.* Yekhtyar-ool-Moolk, on hearing this instrument, and perceiving the King was in person with the party, retreated with precipitation. Meanwhile Raja Ray Sing, in whose charge Mahomed Hoossein Mirza had been left, perceiving the state of affairs, put him to death without waiting for orders; and Yekhtyar-ool-Moolk, falling from his horse in his retreat, was killed by one of the King's guards. The besieged governor of Guzerat, being

* The nukara is a large sonorous drum, and is attached to the head-quarters of the army.

now enabled to quit the city, came to pay his respects, and Akbur entered Ahmudabad on the same day; where having re-established Mirza Azeez Koka in his government, he proceeded by the route of Ajmere to Agra.

In the course of the same year, Dawood Khan, the son of Sooliman Kirany, ruler of Bengal, took up arms. Moonyim Khan, Khan Khanan, was sent against him, and after several actions compelled him to sign a treaty; but the King, dissatisfied with the instrument, committed the management of Bengal to Raja Todur Mul, and sent him with orders either to expel Dawood Khan or compel him to pay tribute. Dawood Khan, being threatened at the time with a civil war by Lody Khan Afghan, who discovered an inclination to usurp his authority, consented to pay tribute. Having shortly after seized Lody Khan, he put him to death: and being relieved from that domestic danger, he broke the treaty with Moonyim Khan, and attacked him at the confluence of the Soane and the Ganges, where Dawood Khan was defeated, and having lost his fleet of boats, he fled. Moonyim Khan instantly crossed the Soane, and laid siege to Patna.

The King, informed of these events, left Agra in the depth of the rains, with as many troops as could be embarked in a thousand boats, remaining for a few days only at Benares, in order to admit of the union of the forces marching by land. After the junction of all his forces, he sent back the young princes and the ladies of the haram, and embarking the whole of his army, sailed down the river to Patna. At this time he received

the news of the reduction of Bhukkur on the Indus, by Kubeer Khan, who had been sent into that quarter. Having arrived within a few miles of Patna, the King heard that Eesa Khan Neeazy, one of the enemy's principal generals, had marched out of the fort and fought Moonyim Khan, but that he had been defeated and lost his life, so that Patna was on the point of being evacuated. The King, therefore, detached Alum Khan, with three thousand horse, to occupy Hajypoor,* which fell without opposition.

A. H. 983. A. D. 1575.

Dawood Khan, intimidated by these misfortunes, deputed a person to make terms. The King insisted on his unconditional submission; observing to his messenger, "Tell "Dawood Khan I have a thousand men in my "army as good as he, and if disposed to put the "point to issue in single combat, I will myself "meet him." Dawood Khan, confounded at this message, embarked in a boat at the water-gate after it was dark, and retreated towards Bengal. Patna was evacuated in the night, and on the morning the King pursued the enemy chiefly for the sake of obtaining their elephants. Four hundred of these animals fell into his hands during the retreat; and having placed Patna and the government of the surrounding districts in charge of Moonyim Khan, he returned to Agra.

This year Mirza Azeez Koka, governor of Guzerat, and Khan Jehan, of Lahore, having come to court to offer congratulations, returned

* Hajypoor and Patna lie immediately opposite each other, on both banks of the Ganges.

to their respective governments. Akbur, at this time, having conferred the title of Moozuffur Khan on Khwaja Moozuffur Ally Toormoozy, appointed him to command a force against the fort of Rohtas, and himself made a tour to the shrine of the saints at Ajmere; when, having bestowed upwards of two lacks of rupees* in charitable donations, he returned to Agra.

Meanwhile Moonyim Khan, who had been lately directed to subdue Bengal, arrived at the fort of Gurhy, which may be considered the key of that province. Dawood Khan fled into Orissa, whither he was pursued by Raja Todur Mul, with part of the King's army: but Jooneid Khan, the son of Dawood Khan, having defeated Raja Todur Mul in two actions, Moonyim Khan marched to his aid. The united Mogul troops now engaged Dawood Khan; when Goojur Khan, an Afghan chief of distinguished courage, who commanded Dawood Khan's advanced guard, attacked the advance of Moonyim Khan, commanded by Khan Alum, when the latter was defeated and slain. This event caused the advance to fall back on the main body, to which confusion was communicated. Moonyim Khan, observing the disorder, hastened to the spot with a small body to restore order. Goojur Khan, however, attacked him in person, and wounded him in several places, so that for a while he was obliged to quit the field; but having rallied his troops he led them back to the charge, when Goojur Khan was killed, and Dawood Khan's army was defeated, with the loss of all their elephants. Raja Todur Mul went in

* 20,000*l*.

pursuit, and came up with Dawood Khan on the shore of the China Sea,* who, finding no means of escape, resolved to make a stand. Raja Todur Mul sent intelligence of his situation to Moonyim Khan, who in spite of his wounds hastened to the spot. Dawood Khan shortly after submitted. He was allowed to retain Orissa and Cuttack, but relinquished all pretensions to Bengal and Behar; after which Moonyim Khan returned to his government. In ancient times, from the period of Mahomed Bhukhtyar Khiljy to that of Sheer Shah, the city of Goor had been the capital of Bengal; after, which, owing to its insalubrity, it had been abandoned for Khowaspoor Tanda, and was now greatly decayed. Moonyim Khan, however, admiring the spot, gave orders for its repair, and made it his residence; but he fell a victim to its unhealthy climate, and died on the 9th of Rujub, 983. Hoossein Koolly Khan, Toorkoman, who bore the title of Khan Jehan, was nominated governor in his stead.

Rujub 9. A. H. 983. Oct. 12. A. D. 1575.

At this period Sooliman Mirza of Budukhshan, being expelled by his grandson, Shahrokh, was obliged to seek protection at the court of Agra; from whence having taken leave, he proceeded on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Some time after, he returned to Budukhshan, and recovered his dominions. At this time some of the nobles, envious of the elevation of Mirza Azeez Koka, governor of

* Ferishta, copying from Abool Fuzl, calls the Bay of Bengal the China Sea.

Guzerat, accused him of treasonable designs. He was accordingly recalled from his government, and appeared at court without delay; notwithstanding which he was for some time imprisoned, and Shahab-ood-Deen Ahmud Khan, of Nyshapoor, appointed to succeed him.

Hoossein Koolly Khan had not time to take possession of his government in Bengal, before Dawood Khan Kirany, having been joined by several Afghan chiefs both of Bengal and Behar, seized Khowaspoor Tanda without opposition; and finding himself at the head of fifty thousand horse, retook great part of Bengal. Hoossein Koolly Khan assembled all the imperial officers in that quarter, and advanced against Gurhy, which fell into his hands; on this occasion, also, he defeated the enemy with the loss of fifteen hundred men; after which, he proceeded to the spot where Dawood Khan was encamped. Moozuffur Khan now joined the King's army with a body of troops raised in Behar, Tirhoot, and Hajypoor, and Hoossein Koolly Khan attacked Dawood Khan's camp on the 15th of Rubbee-oos-Sany, 983. Dawood Khan drew up his army to receive him. Kala P'har, one of the Bengal officers, charging the left wing of the imperialists, threw it into temporary disorder: while Moozuffur Khan, who commanded the right of the Mogul army, gained some advantage over the enemy's left. Hoossein Koolly Khan charged the centre in person, and was received with great steadiness; but at length

Rubbee-oos-Sany 15. A. H. 983. July 23. A. D. 1575.

victory declared in favour of the King's troops, and the Afghans were defeated. Dawood Khan was taken prisoner; and on being brought before Hoossein Koolly Khan, Toorkoman, was put to death, while his son, Jooneid Khan, who had been wounded in the action, died a few days after. Hoossein Koolly Khan now took possession of all Bengal, and sent the elephants and other spoils to the King.

A. H. 984.
A. D. 1576.

In the year 984, Moozuffur Khan marched against Rohtas, and sent Maasoom Khan to attack Hoossein Khan Afghan, who was hovering about with a body of marauders in that quarter. Maasoom Khan engaged and defeated him, and took possession of his districts; but Kala P'har, with eight thousand horse, surrounding Maasoom Khan, thought to oblige him to surrender. Maasoom Khan, breaking down the wall of the town in which he had taken post, rushed unexpectedly on the enemy. In the action which ensued, Maasoom Khan's horse was killed by a stroke of the trunk of Kala P'har's war elephant, called Ayaz, and he himself was in imminent danger of being crushed to death, had the elephant not been severely galled by arrows at the moment, which rendered him so unruly, that he turned back on the Afghan troops, carrying off Kala P'har, so that his army, supposing that he fled, quickly followed him. On this occasion, Kala P'har was overtaken by the Moguls, and killed. In the same year, also Shahbaz Khan Kumbo, having taken the fort of Sewana, which had belonged to Raja Chunder Sein, the son of

Mal Dew, proceeded with an army against the Raja of Gunjowty, who was compelled to seek refuge in the woods, while Shahbaz Khan besieged and took Sheergur, then in possession of the Raja's son. Having been subsequently directed to besiege Rohtas, he proceeded in that direction; while Khwaja Moozuffur Ally took the field against the Afghans. The Afghans in Rohtas, distressed for supplies, surrendered, and Shahbaz Khan Kumbo, leaving that fort in charge of his brothers, proceeded to court.

The King, in this year, went to Ajmere, and employed Shahbaz Khan Kumbo against Koombulmere, a strong fortress in the possession of the Rana of Oodipoor, which was taken in a masterly manner. In the mean time, the King marched by the route of Banswala and Mando, to the Deccan frontier, and having learned that Moortuza Nizam Shah, King of Ahmudnuggur, was afflicted with insanity, thought the present a favourable opportunity to occupy that country. He was, however, diverted from his project at present by domestic affairs, and returned towards Agra by the way of Ajmere, where he appointed Moozuffur Khan to the high office of Minister. From Ajmere the King marched to Dehly, and from thence towards Kabul. On this journey, a comet appeared every night (A. D. 1576). At Ajoodhun, Akbur visited the tomb of the famous Sheikh Fureed-ood-Deen; and giving up his intention of going to Kabul, returned to Futtehpoor Seekry.

The great mosque in Futtehpoor was finished

A. H. 986. A. D. 1576. during this year. In the following year, Meeran Moobaruk Khan, ruler of Kandeish, having imprisoned Moozuffur Mirza,* who, with his mother, had sought an asylum at Boorhanpoor, was compelled to deliver them into the King's hands. In the course of the same year, Hoossein Koolly Khan, Toorkoman, governor of Bengal, died.

A. H. 987. A. D. 1577. In 987, a great fire happened in the Furash Khana at Futtehpoor, which consumed many tents lined with velvet and brocade of great value.

After the death of Hoossein Koolly Khan, the Afghans began to raise insurrections in Bengal and Behar. Mirza Azeez Koka, late governor of Guzerat, was released from his confinement, and sent with a considerable army to suppress them. Mahomed Hukeem Mirza, the King's brother, taking advantage of the moment, made an attempt on Lahore, and sent Shadman Koka with a thousand horse, in advance. This officer, on crossing the Indus, was attacked by Koowur Man-Sing, in the Punjab, and routed; but on Mahomed Hukeem Mirza's reaching Rohtas,† Koowur Man-Sing retreated to Lahore. The Prince, finding Mohurrum 11. A. H. 989. February 15. A. D. 1579. Rohtas was likely to be defended obstinately by Syud Yoosoof Khan Mushedy, marched to Lahore, and invested it on the 11th of Mohurrum,

* It will be recollected, that Moozuffur Mirza was the son of Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza by Goolrokh Begum. Vide, p. 238.

† There is a town of this name in Punjab, as well as in Behar, built by Sheer Shah Soor.

A. H. 989; in which place Raja Man-Sing, Syud Khan, and Raja Bhugwandas, had taken post.

Notwithstanding the war in Bengal and Behar, the King marched from Agra to the relief of the north-western provinces; but on hearing of his approach, Mahomed Hukeem Mirza retreated to Kabul. On the King's arrival at Surhind, having learned that Shah Munsoor Shirazy had been carrying on a treasonable correspondence with his brother, he was executed. On reaching Rohtas, in Punjab, Syud Yoosoof Khan, the governor, came to pay his respects, and the army marched on to the Nilab; but finding it impracticable to throw a bridge across, owing to the rapidity of the stream, it crossed in boats. In consequence of this, Mahomed Hukeem Mirza's officers in Pishawur fled. On the army reaching Julalabad, the Prince Sulim was left there, and the Prince Moorad proceeded with the advanced guard of the army. At the pass of Shooturgurduna, within thirty miles of Kabul, this division was attacked by Furedoon Khan, a general of Mahomed Hukeem Mirza, and lost almost all its baggage. On the 2d of Suffur, 989, Mahomed Hukeem Mirza opposed the Prince Moorad in person. Koowur Man-Sing and Toozuk Khan Atka having advanced, the elephant-swivels opened a fire. By mere accident an officer of Mahomed Hukeem Mirza, and three other persons, standing near him, were killed; on which he took to flight, losing many persons of distinction in the retreat. The King heard of this victory at Soorkhab, and entered

Suffur 2.
A. H. 989.
March 6.
A. D. 1579.

Suffur 7. A. H. 989. March 11. A. D. 1579.

Kabul without opposition on the 7th of Suffur. Mahomed Hukeem Mirza fled to Ghoorbund, and sent a deputation to the King, begging forgiveness, which being as readily granted, Kabul was restored to him, and on the 14th of Suffur the army returned towards Agra.

Suffur 14. March 18.

Having reached the Nilab (Indus) the King ordered a fort to be built on its bank, which he called Attock,* signifying, in the Indian language, the barrier; for, according to the superstitious notions of the Hindoos, it was held unlawful for them to cross that river. The King having arrived at Lahore on the 19th of Rumzan, conferred the government of that province on the Raja Bhugwandas, and in a few days marched to Futtehpoor Seekry, which now became the capital.

Rumzan 19. October 13.

The disturbances in Bengal still continuing, Shahbaz Khan Kumbo, who had been placed under restraint, was released, and sent to reinforce the army in that quarter. At this time the King was taken dangerously ill of a bowel-complaint; and as his Majesty had adopted the habit of eating opium, as Hoomayoon, his father, had done before him, people became apprehensive on his account. He recovered shortly after, and gave away large sums in charity. In the month of Mohurrum, A. H. 991, Mirza Azeez Koka came from Bengal to pay his respects, and returned to his government. In

Mohurrum, A. H. 991. January, A. D. 1583.

* Ferishta must be in error. The town of Attock existed, I believe, long before the time of Akbur. He, perhaps, built the present fort.

Shuval. September. the month of Shuval, the King went to Priag, where he caused the fort of Allahabad to be built, at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges. Moozuffur Shah of Guzerat, who had been at large since the occupation of that country by Akbur, had gained so considerably on the King's favour, as to procure for him a handsome estate; on which having resided many years, he suddenly fled to Guzerat, and in concert with Sheer Khan Folady created an insurrection. Itimad Khan Guzeratty, was now appointed governor, and Shahab-ood-Deen Ahmud Khan Nyshapoory recalled to court. After the arrival of the new governor, Shahab-ood-Deen Ahmud Khan, quitting Ahmudabad, came to Puttun, and halted some days; but most of his followers who had formed connections in Guzerat, unwilling to undertake the journey to court, deserted to Moozuffur Shah, who collected a considerable force.

Itimad Khan, leaving an officer in charge of Ahmudabad, went to Puttun, where Shahab-ood-Deen still remained encamped; and Moozuffur Shah, marching to Ahmudabad, got possession of it without difficulty. Itimad Khan having now prevailed on Shahab-ood-Deen Ahmud Khan to return with him, they both marched back to recover the capital; but Moozuffur Shah, coming out to oppose them, defeated and compelled them to fall back on Puttun; from whence Itimad Khan sent an express to acquaint Akbur of the state of affairs.

A. H. 989. A. D. 1581. Informed of these events, the King sent Mirza Abdool Ruheem, commonly

called Mirza Khan, the son of the late Beiram Khan, Toorkoman, together with the officers stationed in Ajmere, to reinforce Itimad Khan; but before the arrival of Mirza Khan, Moozuffur Shah took Baroach, held by Mirza Kootb-ood-Deen Atka, in jageer, and having put him to death, obtained possession of fourteen lacks of rupees belonging to the King, beside all the private property of Kootb-ood-Deen Khan, estimated at more than ten crores.* Moozuffur Shah, now repairing to Ahmudabad, was enabled to raise a large army. Mirza Khan, in the mean while, arrived at Puttun, and forming a junction with Shahab-ood-Deen Ahmud Khan, and other officers, mustered an army of eight thousand good horse, and marched to Ahmudabad. On reaching the village of Surkech, within six miles of the city, Moozuffur Shah, on the 15th of Mohurrum, 992, opposed him with an army of thirty thousand horse; when a sanguinary battle took place, in which Mirza Khan was completely victorious. He forced the enemy to fly before him into the town of Ahmudabad, through which the Guzeratties were driven, and expelled with great slaughter, by the opposite gate. Being soon after joined by Kullich Khan, and some officers from Malwa, Mirza Khan pursued Moozuffur Shah towards Cambay, and drove him among the mountains of Nadote, where he made another feeble attempt to oppose the Moguls, but was expelled from his position by Mirza Khan's artillery, and

Mohurrum 15. A. H. 992. January 29. A. D. 1584.

* Ten millions.

eventually sought refuge in the vicinity of Joonagur with the Jâm.

Mirza Khan, returning to Ahmudabad, detached Kullich Khan to besiege the fort of Baroach, which he recovered out of the hands of Nuseer Khan, the brother-in-law of Moozuffur Shah. After a siege of seven months, Nuseer Khan evacuated the fort, and escaped to the Deccan. Moozuffur Shah, soon after, assisted by Jam Ameen, the Prince of Joonagur, advanced to a spot within sixty coss (ninety miles) of Ahmudabad; but no sooner had Mirza Khan marched to oppose him, than he fled to the jungle, without waiting his approach. After some time, however, having collected a number of Bheels, Colies, and Girassias,* he made a third attempt to recover his dominions: but was defeated at Siranty, and compelled to seek refuge with Ray Sing Kâtty, Raja of Julwara. After a period of five months Mirza Khan was recalled to court; but Moozuffur Shah again appearing in arms, the Mirza received the title of Khan Khanan, and returned as governor to Guzerat. In this year, Boorhan Nizam, the son of the late Hoossein Nizam Shah, and brother of Moortuza Nizam Shah Bheiry, King of Ahmudnuggur, left his brother and came to the court of Agra, where he was graciously received. Not long after, Shah Futteh Oolla Shirazy, one of the most learned men of that age, came also from the Deccan, and had an honourable office assigned to him near the King's person. In

A. H. 993. A. D. 1585. the year 993, Syud Mooztuza Subzwarry and Khoodawund Khan Hubshy, having

* The hill-tribes of Guzerat.

been defeated by Sulabut Khan,* took refuge at the Mogul court. The King, who had long entertained thoughts of invading the Deccan, sent all the refugees from Ahmudnuggur to reside with Mirza Azeez Koka, who was now appointed governor of Malwa, with orders to take advantage of circumstances, and march into the Deccan. At the same time, Shah Futteh Oolla Shirazy having received the title of Azd-ood-Dowla,† was also sent thither, to aid in arrangements for the same purpose.

Mirza Azeez Koka shortly after marched to the southern frontier, and finding Raja Ally Khan, the ruler of Kandeish, well inclined towards Moortuza Nizam Shah, he deputed Shah Futteh-oolla-Shirazy to wait on him, and endeavour to bring him over to the interest of Akbur; but his mission entirely failed, and Mirza Mahomed Tuky Nuzeery, and Behzad-ool-Moolk, officers of Moortuza Nizam Shah, marched to attack Mirza Azeez Koka, then encamped at Hundia. The latter, declining an action, suddenly decamped, and marching by an unfrequented route, entered the Deccan at Elichpoor, which he plundered for the space of three days; but as soon as the Deccany generals, joined by Raja Ally Khan, reached Elichpoor, Mirza Azeez Koka, without halting

A. H. 993.
A. D. 1585.

* These persons were chiefs of the kingdom of Ahmudnuggur; the distractions of which are related in their proper place, in the history of the kings of the Deccan.

† This is the first instance of the title of Dowla being given, which became so common in the subsequent reigns.

to oppose them, retreated by the route of Nundoorbar.*

While these events transpired, orders were sent to recall Mirza Khan, Khan Khanan, from Guzerat, to court, while Moozuffur Shah, taking advantage of his absence, raised from eight to ten thousand men, and contrived to lay waste the country. In this year, Shahrokh Mirza, grandson of Sooliman Mirza, ruler of Budukhshan, having been expelled from his dominions by Abdoolla Khan Oozbuk, came to court, and was enrolled among the nobles. In the same year, also, the marriage of the daughter of Raja Bhugwandas with the Prince Mahomed Sulim Mirza,† the Emperor's eldest son, took place; and in the following year occurred the death of Mahomed Hukeem Mirza, the King's brother. Akbur having again

A. H. 994.
A. D. 1586.

appointed Mirza Khan governor of Guzerat, nominated Shah Futteh Oolla Shirazy Sudr to act under him. The King now proceeded to Punjab, and during the journey Sadik Mahomed Khan was raised to the government of Bhukkur; and Koowur Man-Sing, the son of Raja Bhugwandas, was sent to Kabul, to escort the infant children of Mahomed Hukeem Mirza to Lohore; and the son of Koowur Man-Sing was invested with the chief authority at Kabul.

* If there be no mistake in the manuscript, Mirza Azeez Koka must have marched two hundred miles to the westward, and passed through Kandeish, then an enemy's country, instead of returning direct to Hundia, which he might have done in four or five days.

† He afterwards ascended the throne under the title of Jehangeer.

The King having arrived at Attock on the Nilab, detached Sharokh Mirza, Raja Bhugwandas, Shah Koolly Khan Mahrum, and other officers of distinction, with five thousand horse, to subdue the territory of Kashmeer; while Zein Khan Koka was despatched, with another army, against the Afghans of Swad and Bijowr. A force was also organised under the command of Koowur Man-Sing, to attack the Roshnye Afghans, who are known by the appellation of Zundaka Kafur. It is related, that a person from Hindoostan, assuming the title of Peer Roshnye, converted these people to his tenets. After the death of Peer Roshnye, his son, Julala, then only fourteen years of age, came to Akbur, but after staying a short time at court, he fled to the Afghans; in conjunction with whom he raised insurrections, and interrupted the communication between Kabul and Hindoostan. The King, having ascertained the real state of the affairs of the Afghans of Swad and Bijowr, sent a detachment consisting of the troops of Syud Khan Gukkur, Sheikh Feizy, Moolla Sheery, and Saleh Aakil, as reinforcements to Zein Khan Koka; in addition to which troops he also sent Hukeem Abool Futteh Geelany, with several other officers of distinction. In spite of these forces, Mirza Zein Koka's army was completely defeated by the Afghans, and Raja Beerbul and Moolla Sheery, together with other officers of note, besides eight thousand men, were killed; while Zein Khan Koka and Hukeem Abool Futteh, with great difficulty, reached the King's camp at Attock, in the year

A. H. 995.
A. D. 1586-7.

995. Koowur Man-Sing, who had been detached against the Roshnye Afghans met with better success, having defeated them at the Khyburpass with great slaughter. The King now returned from Attock to Lahore, from whence he directed Koowur Man-Sing to proceed to Kabul, and assume the government for the purpose of keeping the Afghans in check. In this year the daughter of Ray Sing was married to the Prince Royal, Mahomed Sulim Mirza.

The army which had been detached to Kashmeer, under Shahrokh Mirza and Raja Bhugwandas, being reduced to great distress by the snow and rain, as also by scarcity of provisions, was under the necessity of making peace with the Kashmeerians; having secured the monopoly of saffron, and the privileges of coining money for the King. The King, however, refusing to ratify the terms, sent the Ameer-al-Behr,* Mahomed Kasim Khan of Kabul, with another army, to reduce it, which was affected in the mode related in the history of Kashmeer; owing chiefly to the dissensions which prevailed among the inhabitants themselves. In this year, Sooliman Mirza, the grandfather of Shahrokh Mirza, came from Kabul, and had an interview with the King at Lahore. About the same time, also, an ambassador who had

* Ameer-al-Behr, or commander at sea, is an ancient Arabian title, and answers so entirely to that of admiral, that one might almost imagine that the Moors introduced it through Spain into Europe, where the word Behr, signifying ocean, being dropped amir-al or admiral has been adopted, to signify a naval commander only. Thus we recognise in the word Miramolin, Amir-ool-Momineen, commander of the faithful.

arrived from Abdoolla Khan Oozbuk joined the King at Attock, and received his audience of leave on his return; on which occasion he was accompanied by Hukeem Humam, the brother of Hukeem Futteh Oolla Geelany, and Meer Sudr-Jehan, one of the Sadat,* Hoosseiny of Kunowj. This ambassador conveyed presents to his court valued at about 150,000 rupees.† In the year

A. H. 996. A. D. 1588.

996, Julala, having made head against the royal troops, slew Syud Hamid Khan Bokhary, and compelled Koowur Man-Sing to fly to Bungush. The King, therefore, deputed Abdool Mootullub Khan, Mahomed Koolly Beg, and Humza Beg Toorkoman, against him; and these chiefs having given Julala a signal overthow, cut off great numbers of his followers. In this year, the birth of the Prince Sooltan Khoosrow,‡ son of the Prince Royal, by the daughter of Raja Bhugwandas, took place; on which occasion, the King made a great festival. At the same period, Mahomed Sadik Khan, according to orders, invested the fort of Sehwan, on the Indus; and Jany Beg, ruler of Sind, was compelled to acknowledge the King's authority; after which Mahomed Sadik Khan proceeded to Bhukkur. In the beginning of the month of Rubbee-oos-Sany, Zein Khan Koka was appointed to the government of Kabul, and Koowur Man-Sing was recalled to Lahore. In the latter end

Rubbee-oos-Sany, A. H. 996. February, A. D. 1589.

* Syuds lineally descended from Hoossein.

† 15,000*l*.

‡ He reigned after his father, under the title of Shah Jehan and was the father of Aurungzeeb.

of the same month, Mirza Khan, Khan Khanan, and Shah Futteh Oolla Shirazy, were recalled from Guzerat; and Mahomed Sadik Khan was also recalled from Bhukkur. In this year, Koowur Man-Sing was appointed to the government of Behar, Hajypoor, and Patna; while the management of Kashmeer was intrusted to Syud Yoosoof Khan Mushuddy, in the room of Mahomed Kasim, who had lately suffered a defeat from the assaults of the zemindars. Mahomed Sadik Khan was employed, during this year, against the Yoosoofzye Afghans of Swad and Bijowr, Ismael Koolly Khan being recalled, and deputed governor to Guzerat, in the room of Kullich Khan, who had succeeded Mirza Khan in that office.

Jumad-oos-Sany 23. A. H. 997. April 27. A. D. 1589.

On the 23d of Jumad-oos-Sany, in the year 997, the King proceeded on a tour to Kashmeer, having heard much in praise of its beautiful situation. On reaching Bhimbur, at the entrance of the mountains, he quitted his army, and leaving his family behind with the Prince Moorad Mirza, Akbur proceeded with a small retinue to Sreenuggur, the capital of Kashmeer; at which place the learned Azd-ood-Dowla Shirazy, who had lately come from Guzerat, died. The king was much grieved at his loss; and Sheikh Feizy wrote an appropriate epitaph on the occasion.

Having gratified his curiosity at Kashmeer, Akbur resolved to proceed to Kabul. On the road Hukeem Futteh-Oolla Geelany, a man famous for his learning, and one of the King's companions, died at Dhuntoor, and was buried at Baba Hussun Abdall. On the arrival of the court at Attock,

Shahbaz Khan Kumbo was directed to reduce the Yoosoofzye Afghans, who infested the roads, while the King proceeded to Kabul; where he was met, on their return, by Hukeem Humam and Meer Sudr Jehan, who had been sent to the court of Abdoolla Khan Oozbuk.

The King remained for two months, enjoying himself amid the pleasure-gardens of Kabul, distributing presents and charity among its inhabitants. Hearing, at this time, of the deaths both of Raja Bhugwandas and Raja Todur Mul, he conferred the government of Kabul on the Admiral Mahomed Kasim; and left that city on the 20th of Mohurrum, 998, on his return to Lahore. The charge of Guzerat was in this year made over to Mirza Azeez Koka, ruler of Malwa, and Shahab-ood-Deen Ahmud Khan, Nyshapoory, succeeded him as governor of Malwa.

Mohurrum 20. A. H. 998. Nov. 19. A. D. 1589.

Mirza Azeez Koka, having arrived at Guzerat, led an army against the Jam, a zemindar of that country,* who, in alliance with Dowlut Khan, the son of Jam Ameen, ruler of Joonagur, opposed him with twenty thousand horse. A sharp conflict ensued, in which Mahomed Ruffeea Bukshy, Mahomed Hoossein Khan, and Meer Shurf-ood-Deen (nephew of Meer Aboo Toorab), all officers of rank, were killed on the part of the Moguls, besides a vast number of men; while, on the other side, the eldest son of the Jam, and his vizier, together with four thousand Rajpoots, lost

*This Hindoo chief was, probably, the ruler of Nowanuggur, with whose descendants the English have within the last few years been engaged in war.

their lives on the field of battle. The victory was, however, claimed by the Moguls, under Mirza Azeez Koka.*

Abdoolla Khan Oozbuk, having about this time taken possession of Budukhshan, threatened to attack Kabul. Akbur, in consequence, held his court for some years in Lahore. At this time, Mirza Jany Beg, ruler of Sind, notwithstanding the proximity of the court, having refused to repair to the presence, the King directed Mirza Khan, Khan Khanan, with several officers, and army accompanied by one hundred elephants, and a respectable park of artillery, to attack the Bullochies of Sind.

A. H. 999. A. D. 1590. In the year 999, Shahab-ood-Deen Ahmud Khan, the governor of Malwa, dying, he was succeeded by the King's second son, the Prince Moorad Mirza, under the tutelage of Ismael Koolly Khan. The Prince, having arrived in the neighbourhood of Gauliar, heard that Mudkurn, a zemindar in that district, was in arms, and disturbed the public peace. He accordingly marched against him, and drove him into the woods, where he shortly after died of his wounds. His son Ramchunder, having paid his respects, was placed in his father's situation, and confirmed in his paternal estates. The Prince, marching on from thence, soon after arrived in Malwa.

* As no specific object is stated by the historian to have been obtained by the Moguls, we may fairly doubt how far they gained a victory. We should rather think, from the manner in which the circumstance is mentioned, this action was a complete defeat on their part, and that, therefore, no farther operations were then prosecuted against the Jams.

The King, in the mean time, sent ambassadors to the four kings of the Deccan; Feizy, the brother of the learned Sheikh Abool Fuzl, to Aseer and Boorhanpoor: * Khwaja Ameen-ood-Deen to Ahmudnuggur; Meer Mahomed Ameen Mushudy to Beejapoor; and Mirza Musaood to Bhagnagur. † Mirza Azeez Koka, governor of Guzerat, hearing that Jam Dowlut, ruler of Joonagur, was dead of his wounds, marched his army in that direction, and after a siege of seven months made himself master of that strong place.

In the course of the same year, Mirza Khan, Khan Khanan, laid siege to the fort of Sehwan, on the banks of the Indus. Mirza Jany Beg, ruler of Sind, with a numerous army and a train of artillery in boats, advanced against him, and arriving within fourteen miles of his camp, sent forward a hundred boats full of artillery-men and archers, to attack the Moguls. Mirza Khan, Khan Khanan, though he had but twenty-five boats, boldly engaged the Sindian fleet in the night, and having killed about two hundred of the enemy, and taken seven of their boats, put the remainder to flight. Mirza Jany beg, after this defeat, having brought down his whole fleet, landed in the month of Mohurrum, in the year 1000, on a spot of ground surrounded by a swamp which was flooded at high water. Here he maintained his position against

Mohurrum, A. H. 1000. October, A. D. 1591.

* The hill fort of Aseer, situated at the distance of twelve miles from Boorhanpoor, was the summer residence of the kings of Kandeish, whose capital was Boorhanpoor.

† The modern Hydrabad.

all the attempts of Mirza Khan, and keeping his communication open by water, his army was well supplied; while he adopted such effectual measures to prevent provisions from reaching the Moguls, that a severe dearth ensued in their camp.

Mirza Khan, reduced to this perilous situation, found himself obliged to leave a part of his army before Sehwan, and to march towards Tutta with the remainder. Soon after his departure, Mirza Jany Beg attacked the detachment left to conduct the siege, but was repulsed. Mirza Khan, Khan Khanan, on learning their situation, detached Dowlut Khan Lody with a reinforcement from the main army, which marched a distance of eighty coss * in two days. Mirza Jany Beg, conceiving the reinforcement would be unable to oppose him from fatigue, attacked it on the following day; but Dowlut Khan Lody, although he could only muster two thousand effective men, completely defeated the Sindians, and forced them to fall back on the village of Abhore, on the banks of the Indus, where Jany Beg was obliged to entrench himself for security. Mirza Khan, in the mean time, returned, and hemmed him in on the land-side, while Dowlut Khan blockaded him on the river. The Sindians, reduced to the last extremity, were compelled to kill their horses and camels for subsistence. Thus situated, Mirza Jany beg sued for peace; and having given his daughter in marriage to Mirza Eerich, Mirza Khan's eldest son, he

* The length of a coss differs so much, it is impossible to say what was the precise distance gone over in two days' march; perhaps, eighty or one hundred miles.

promised to proceed to court, and make his submission to the King in person, as soon as the rains subsided. At this period Syud Yoosoof Khan Mushudy, having by the King's orders left his younger brother Mirza Yadgar in Kashmeer, came to court. In his absence, Mirza Yadgar, who had espoused the daughter of one of the zemindars of Kashmeer, went into rebellion, and caused the Khootba to be read in his name. Kazy Ally, the principal collector of the revenues, together with Hoossein Beg, and Sheikh Oomr Budukhshy, levied troops, and opposed Mirza Yadgar in the King's name; but Kazy Ally was slain, and the rest of the Mogul officers were expelled from Kashmeer. On receiving advices of this event, Sheikh Fureed Bukhshy was appointed to recover that province; and while Mirza Yadgar was encamped within sight of the King's troops, he was treacherously seized by Saduk Beg and Ibrahim Khan Koka, two of his own officers, and murdered, after which, his head was sent to Sheikh Fureed Bukhshy. Kashmeer thus fell a second time into the hands of Akbur. The King, soon after, proceeded in person to that valley, where he spent forty days; and having reinstated Syud Yoosoof Khan Mushudy in the government, proceeded to Rohtas, where he was met, in the year 1001, by Mirza Jany Beg and Mirza Khan, Khan Khanan, from Tutta. Mirza Jany Beg,* was instantly enrolled

A. H. 1001.
A. D. 1592.

* It seems to have been the object of Akbur's policy to raise to distinction, and to employ, all the native chiefs as soon as he had reduced them to do him homage.

among the *Sehuzaries*,* and the country of Sind henceforth became a province of the empire.

A. H. 1002.
A. D. 1593.

Mirza Azeez Koka was this year obliged to take the field against the zemindars on the Kuggur, who had given protection to Moozuffur Shah. Having obtained possession of the person of that Prince by negotiation, he was on his way to Ahmudabad; when on the journey, one morning, he left the road-side, and retired to a distance, and put an end to his life with a razor. It was afterwards said that he had long carried this instrument about him, apparently for the purpose The head of Moozuffur Shah was sent to the presence. In this year, also, Raja Man-Sing,† the son of the late Raja Bhugwandas, attacked and defeated Kootloogh Khan Afghan, and occupied the province of Orissa, a dependency of Bengal; on which occasion he sent to the King one hundred and twenty elephants that he had taken. The King not having seen Mirza Azeez Koka for ten years, sent for him to court; but the Mirza, who had long had it in contemplation to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and having already made his arrangements for doing so, embarked with all his family, and sailed without going to pay his respects. The news of Mirza Azeez's departure no sooner reached court than the Prince Moorad Mirza was ordered

* Sehuzary, an officer commanding three thousand men: a rank equivalent to that of brigadier-general.

† The eldest sons of rajas assume the title of Koowur, and only take that of Raja after becoming head of the family. He is the same person denominated Koowur Man-Sing.

from Malwa to Guzerat, under the tutelage of Sadik Mahomed Khan, while Shahrokh Mirza was nominated to the government of Malwa, having for his vizier Shahbaz Khan Kumbo, who had been in confinement during three years. Some time previously, Julala, the chief of the Roshney Afghans, having been expelled from Pishawur, fled to Abdoolla Khan Oozbuk,* but returning about this time, he began to create disturbances in the vicinity of Khybur. It became necessary, therefore, to direct Jafur Khan Kuzweeny, who had during the last year received the title of Asuf Khan, to attack him. Julala was defeated, and both he and his brothers being made prisoners, were sent to court.

The ambassadors, whom the King had despatched to the Deccan, returned about this time, communicating that all the kings had refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Akbur, who accordingly determined to reduce them to subjection. For this purpose the Prince Daniel was ordered to proceed with an army to the south. He had scarcely left Lahore and reached Sooltanpoor, when the King changed his mind; and cancelling his appointment, gave the command of the army of the Deccan to Mirza Khan, Khan Khanan, and ordered him to continue his march. In this year, Roostoom Mirza, the son of Sooltan Hoossein Mirza, the son of Beiram Mirza, the son of Shah Ismaeel Sufvy, who had long since occupied the fort of Kandahar, being driven to extreme distress

* King of Transoxania.

by his brothers and the Oozbuks, came to court, and formally ceded to the King the fort of Kandahar, in lieu of which he received the government of Mool-tan, and was enrolled among the Punjhuzaries.*

Mirza Khan, in the mean time, proceeded to Mando. Boorhan Nizam Shah II. of Ahmud-nuggur now sent Inayut Khan with professions of entire submission; but shortly after falling sick, that monarch died in the year 1003. His son, Ibrahim Nizam Shah, who succeeded him, was killed in battle, against the troops of Ibrahim Adil Shah; and Meean Munjoo, his vizier, raised to the throne one Ahmud, a boy, said to be of the Nizam Shahy family. The Ahmudnuggur nobles, refusing to acknowledge the new king, rebelled, and besieged Meean Munjoo in Ahmudnuggur. In this dilemma finding himself unable to cope with his enemies, the minister sent persons to Ahmudabad, the capital of Guzerat, to wait on the Prince Moorad Mirza, entreating him to come to his assistance, and promising to put him in possession of the fort. Moorad Mirza having previously received orders from his father to march into the Deccan, gladly embraced the proposal, and moved with great expedition to the south; while Mirza Khan, who had now reached Mando, hearing of the Prince's intention, put his own army in motion, attended by the divisions of Mirza Shahrokh, governor of Malwa, Shahbaz Khan Kumbo, Raja Jugnat, the maternal uncle of Raja Man-Sing, Raja Doorga Das, Raja

A. H. 1003.
A. D. 1594.

* Punjhuzary officers were those who commanded a legion of at least five thousand soldiers.

Ramchundur, and others, and marched towards the Deccan. He induced Raja Ally Khan, ruler of Kandeish, also to join him with six thousand horse. The Mogul forces formed a junction * at Galna, in Kandeish, and from thence proceeding by regular marches continued its route to Ahmudabad.

Meean Munjoo having, by this time, suppressed the rebellion, repented of his having called in the Moguls, and had already laid in a store of provisions in Ahmudnuggur to defend it. He left Chand Beeby,† the daughter of Hoossein Nizam Shah, to assume the command of the fort, and himself marched with the remainder of his army, and a large train of artillery, towards the Beejapoor frontier. The Prince Moorad Mirza and Mirza Khan, instead of coming as allies, now proceeded to lay siege to Ahmudnuggur, as will be found in the history of the Nizam Shahies. In the month

Rubbee-oos-Sany. A. H. 1004. November, A. D. 1595.

of Rubbee-oos-Sany, 1004, the besiegers opened their trenches, and carried on approaches by raising mounds, erecting batteries, and sinking mines; while Chand Beeby, defended the place with masculine resolution, and wrote letters to Ibraheem ‡ Adil Shah of Beejapoor, and Kootub Shah of Bhagnuggur, for aid. At the end of three

* That is, the Prince Moorad from Guzerat, and Mirza Khan from Dehly, together with the troops previously assembled at Mando in Malwa.

† The Princess Chand Beeby had been queen and dowager-regent of the neighbouring kingdom of Beejapoor, and was one of the most able politicians of her day.

‡ Ibraheem was her nephew, and she had been queen-regent during his minority.

months the besiegers carried five mines under the wall and bastions, two of which the garrison destroyed by countermines, and continued to search for the others. The Prince Moorad Mirza and Sadik Mahomed Khan were jealous of Mirza Khan, they accordingly put on their armour, and proceeded towards the batteries in the afternoon of the 1st of Rujub, without communicating with Mirza Khan; and desirous of gaining all the credit of taking the place, set fire to the trains of the mines, upon which three exploded, and blew up fifty guz (eighty feet) of the wall. The Moguls now waited for the explosion of the other two mines, which had been destroyed by the besieged, who, recovering from the surprise occasioned by the explosion, defended the breach with great bravery. Chand Beeby appeared with a veil on her head. She caused guns to be brought to bear on the assailants, and stones to be hurled on them, so that they were repulsed in several repeated attacks. During the night, she stood by the workmen, and caused the breach to be filled up nine feet before daylight with wood, stones, and earth, and dead carcasses. Meanwhile a report prevailed, that Soheil Khan, the general of Ibraheem Adil Shah, was on his march, in cojunction with some Kootb Shahy* troops, at the head of an army of seventy thousand horse, to raise the siege. At the same time, a scarcity of provisions prevailing in the Mogul camp, the Prince and Mirza Khan thought it

Rujub 1.
A. H. 1004.
Feb. 17.
A. D. 1569.

* The appellations given to the several kingdoms of the Deccan are explained in the beginning of the next chapter. Vide . 282.

advisable to enter into negotiations with the besieged. It was stipulated by Chand Beeby, that Akbur should retain Berar, while Ahmudnuggur and its original dependencies should remain entire in the hands of Bahadur Shah, the grandson of Boorhan Nizam Shah II. These terms being ratified, the Prince Moorad and Mirza Khan marched towards Berar; where they built the town of Shapoor, near Balapoor, and formed cantonments in that place. On this spot, the Prince espoused the daughter of Bahadur Khan Farooky, the son of Raja Ally Khan, ruler of Kandeish, and subdivided the province of Berar among his chiefs. Shahbaz Khan Kumbo, about this time, becoming disgusted with some indignities offered him by the Prince, quitted the army, and proceeded without leave to Malwa.

After the departure of the Mogul forces, Chand Beeby resigned her authority to Bahadur Nizam Shah, who transferred the reins of government into the hands of Nehung Khan and other chiefs. These, contrary to her advice, and in violation of the late treaty, marched with fifty thousand horse to the north, in order to expel the Moguls from Berar; while Khan Khanan, leaving the Prince and Sadik Mahomed Khan in Shapoor, moved with twenty thousand horse, accompanied by Raja Ally Khan Farooky, to oppose them on the banks of the Godavery. On reaching the village of Soopa, Khan Khanan halted for some days to inform himself of the situation and strength of the enemy, and having forded the river, then only knee-

Jumad-ool-Awul 17. A. H. 1005. Dec. 27. A. D. 1596.

deep, drew up his army on the south bank. On the 17th of Jumad-ool-Awul, 1005, Soheil Khan, who commanded a body of auxiliary troops sent by Ibrahim Adil Shah, assuming the command of all the Deccan troops, marshalled them in front of the Moguls. The Nizam Shahy troops were on the right, the Kootb Shahy on the left, and the Adil Shahies in the centre.

On the side of the Moguls, Khan Khanan took post in the centre. Raja Ally Khan of Kandeish, and Raja Ram Chundur, at the head of a body of volunteers, began the attack. The onset of the Moguls was conducted with much intrepidity; they broke the advanced troops of the Deccanies, and fell on those of Soheil Khan, where he commanded in person. Here, however, they met with a check from a heavy discharge of artillery, small arms, and rockets, which did such execution among the Rajpoots and the Kandeish troops that Raja Ally Khan and Raja Ram Chundur were both killed, and above three thousand of their men fell; the Mogul centre and left also gave way at the same time, and left Soheil Khan master of the field in that quarter. Meanwhile Khan Khanan, who had taken the command in person of the right wing during the action, made an impression on the Deccanies, and went in pursuit without being aware of what had happened on his left. Night, shortly after, came on, and each party, equally ignorant of the true state of affairs, thought he had gained a victory.

Soheil Khan contented himself with keeping possession of the field, without pursuing the enemy, while half of his army deserted during the night with the booty it had obtained.

Khan Khanan, returning from the pursuit, unexpectedly came upon the Deccany artillery during the night, within a small distance of their headquarters. Thinking the enemy had been entirely routed, he was much surprised at this discovery, but determined to remain where he was till morning, with the few men that continued with him. He now learned, for the first time, that by far the greater part of his army had been defeated, and had fled to Berar. Soheil Khan's troops unconsciously lit fires and flambeaux, which gave to Khan Khanan an opportunity of perceiving their position. He accordingly ordered a few shot from his artillery to be fired among them, which threw them into temporary confusion; but Soheil Khan causing the fires to be extinguished, and changing his ground, avoided the danger, and sent skirmishers to collect such of his troops as might be found over the plain and in the adjacent villages.

Khan Khanan also took similar steps to collect his men, by blowing his trumpets and beating to arms; which being heard by such of his troops as were in the vicinity, they hastened to join him. Several of the Moguls meeting with bands of the Deccanies in the dark, they fought, and formed a scene of confusion not easily described, while "Alla! Alla!" Oh God! Oh God! resounded from all sides; and every eye was fixed with

anxiety upon the east, in expectation of the dawn. When day appeared, Soheil Khan was seen marching towards the Moguls with twelve thousand horse; and though the troops of Khan Khanan did not exceed three or four thousand in number, he determined to dispute the field, and formed his line. The second battle raged with redoubled fury on both sides. Soheil Khan, after performing prodigies of valour, worn out by fatigue, and loss of blood from wounds he received in the action, fell from his horse. Some of his dependents, however, bore him off the ground; and his army, according to custom, followed, leaving Khan Khanan master of the field; but being in no condition to pursue the fugitives, the Moguls returned to Shapoor.

The Emperor Akbur, having received advice of the death of Abdoolla Khan Oozbuk, who had long threatened an invasion from the north, now returned from Lahore to Agra, where hearing of Khan Khanan's success, he sent him an honorary dress and a fine horse, as marks of his favour. The private animosity that had long subsisted between the Prince Moorad and Khan Khanan, and which was much inflamed by Sadik Mahomed Khan, at this time rose to a dangerous height. The King, therefore, conceiving it imprudent to leave them any longer together, despatched Syud Yoosoof Khan Mushedy and Sheikh Abool Fuzl, in the year 1006, to remain with the Prince. Khan Khanan was recalled to the presence; and though the whole

A. H. 1006.
A. D. 1597.

misunderstanding originated in the Prince's forward and jealous disposition, yet the King's resentment fell upon Khan Khanan, and that great man remained for some time in disgrace.

Syud Yoosoof Mushedy and Abool Fuzl shortly after reduced the forts of Narnala, Gavul,* Kehrla, and other forts in the province of Berar. At this time the Prince Moorad Mirza, falling dangerously ill, died in the month of Shuval, 1007, and was buried at Shapoor. The corpse was afterwards removed to Agra, and laid by the side of Hoomayoon, the Prince's grandfather. The King's grief for the death of his son increased his desire of conquering the Deccan, as a means of diverting his mind. In the mean time, the nobles of the Nizam Shahy dominions gained some slight advantages over the Moguls. They defeated Sheer Khwaja, who occupied Beer, and besieged him in the fort; while Syud Yoosoof Khan and Sheikh Abool Fuzl considered their force so inferior in numbers, that they durst not venture to attack the Deccanies.

Shuval, A. H. 1007. May, A. D. 1599.

Akbur relenting in his severity towards Khan Khanan, restored him to favour, and asked his daughter, Jany Begum, in marriage for his son, Daniel Mirza. Khan Khanan was now despatched to the Deccan with that Prince, accompanied by a well-appointed army, with orders to occupy all the Nizam Shahy territory. Akbur also, in the year 1008, marched in person to the south, leaving his dominions in the

A. H. 1008. A. D. 1599.

* Gyalgur. This fortress was taken by storm by the British troops under the Duke of Wellington, in December, 1803.

north under charge of the Prince Royal, Mahomed Sulim Mirza. Meanwhile, Daniel Mirza and Khan Khanan entered the Deccan. Meeran Bahadur Khan, the son of Raja Ally Khan, ruler of Kandeish, unlike his father, assumed a hostile position in Aseer, after the Mogul army had gone to the south. The Prince Daniel deemed it prudent, therefore, to halt on the banks of the Godavery, near Peitun, in order to conciliate him. But Akbur having reached Mando directed Daniel Mirza to proceed to Ahmudnuggur, as he himself intended to besiege Aseer.

Daniel Mirza and Khan Khanan accordingly marched with about thirty thousand horse towards Ahmudnuggur. Nehung Khan Hubshy and other officers of the Deccan flying before them, left the Moguls at liberty to advance without molestation. Akbur failed in inducing Meeran Bahadur Khan to submit to his authority. He accordingly proceeded to Boorhanpoor, and directed one of his generals to besiege Aseer, which lay only six coss from that place. After the siege had continued a considerable time, the air, on account of the number of troops cooped up in the fort, became very unhealthy. This occasioned a pestilence, which swept off several of the garrison; and although Meeran Bahadur Khan had still sufficient men for the defence of Asseer, as well as a large magazine of warlike stores and provisions, he began to despair. At this time, also, Ahmudnuggur fell, through the exertions of Khwaja Abool Hussun Toormoozy, as we shall soon have occasion to relate. In the beginning of

A. H. 1009. A. D. 1600. the year 1009, Meeran Bahadur Khan, losing all courage, resigned the strong fortress of Aseer into the hands of Akbur, and yielded up treasures and stores which had been accumulating therein for many ages. The wealth of Ahmudnuggur was also brought to Boorhanpoor. Ibrahim Adil Shah of Beejapoor sent an ambassador to conciliate Akbur, and consented to give his daughter in marriage to his son, the Prince Daniel Mirza. A Mogul noble, named Meer Jumal-ood-Deen Hoossein Anjoo, was accordingly despatched with suitable offerings, to escort the bride from Beejapoor. Aseer, Boorhanpoor, Ahmudnuggur, and Berar, were now consolidated into one province, the government of which was conferred on Daniel Mirza, under the management of Khan Khanan. The King, after these transactions, having returned in triumph to the city of Agra, in the year 1011, A. H. 1011. A. D. 1602. assumed by proclamation the title of Emperor of the Deccan, in addition to his other royal titles. In the course of the same year, Sheikh Abool Fuzl was recalled from the Deccan; and that learned man was unfortunately attacked and cut off in the district of Nurwur, by banditti near Orcha.

In the month of Suffur, 1013 of the Suffur, A. H. 1013. Hijra, Meer Jumal-ood-Deen Hoossein June, A. D. 1604. who had been deputed to Beejapoor, returned with the royal bride and the stipulated dowry. He delivered the young Sooltana to Daniel upon the banks of the Godavery;

near Peitun,* where the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence; after which, Meer Jumal-ood-Deen Hoossein proceeded to join the King at Agra.

Zehuj 1, A. H. 1013. April 8, A. D. 1605.

On the 1st of Zehuj, of the year 1013, the Prince Daniel died, in the city of Boorhanpoor, owing to excess of drinking. His death, and the circumstances connected with it, so much affected the King, who was in a declining state of health, that he every day became worse, till, on the 13th of Jumad-oos-Sany, in the year 1014, he died, after a reign of fifty-one years and some months. Eternity belongeth only to that King to whom our worship is due. The words

Jumad-oos-Sany 13, A. H. 1014. Oct. 13, A. D. 1605.

فوت اکبر شه

"The death of King Akbur,"

contain the numeral letters which comprise the date of his death.

Although Akbur was by no means an accomplished scholar, he sometimes wrote poetry, and was well read in history. He also delighted in Indian fables. He caused the fables of Meer Humza, consisting of three hundred and sixty stories, to be written in a beautiful hand, and appropriate pictures were affixed to each story. He established posts throughout his dominions,

* Ferishta, the author of this work, attended the Princess to Peitun, and was afterwards invited by the Prince Daniel to accompany them to Boorhanpoor, where he spent some time with the royal pair.

having two horses and a set of footmen stationed at every five coss. The Indians call this establishment "*Dak Chowky.*" They are employed to convey letters on ordinary business, or expresses to and from court. The footmen will travel fifty coss within the twenty-four hours; so that a letter comes from Agra to Ahmudabad in five days;* and when especial messengers are required to go quickly, they avail themselves of the post-horses to proceed in the same way. Four thousand runners were in permanent pay, some of whom, on extraordinary occasions (where there were no posts), have performed a journey of seven hundred coss in ten days.† Akbur had never more than six thousand elephants at one time, nor had he ever less than five thousand during his whole reign. It seems likely that no King of Dehly ever had so many elephants. His other property has been thus estimated:—

Of allayees (a golden coin), a sum equal to ten crore of rupees, besides one crore's worth of allayees, which he set aside for his private treasury.

Ten maunds, full weight, (800 lb.) of uncoined gold.

Seventy maunds (5600 lb.) of uncoined silver.

Sixty maunds (4800 lb.) of uncoined copper; besides one crore coined into tunkas.

Twelve thousand stable horses.

One thousand camels

* The distance cannot be less than five hundred miles, and the rate exceeds that of our best regulated posts in India.

† Fourteen hundred miles, in ten days, with post horses.

He had, also, nearly one thousand yooz (hunting leopards). It is stated, that although he wished to complete this establishment to one thousand he was never able to do so, in consequence of some disease which affected these animals when they exceeded nine hundred.

The author procured this list of property from one furnished to him; but it remains with others to decide on its authenticity.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE KINGS OF THE DECCAN.

This Chapter is divided into six Sections ; viz.

SECTION I. Of the Kings of Koolburga, denominated Bahmuny.
SECTION II. Of the Kings of Beejapoor, entitled Adil Shahy.
SECTION III. Of the Kings of Ahmudnuggur, entitled Nizam Shahy.
SECTION IV. Of the Kings of Tulingana (Hydrabad), entitled Kootb Shahy.
SECTION V. Of the Kings of Berar, entitled Imad Shahy.
SECTION VI. Of the Kings of Bidur, entitled Bereed Shahy.

SECTION I.

THE DYNASTY OF THE KINGS OF KOOLBURGA, DENOMINATED BAHMUNY.

ALLA-OOD-DEEN HUSSUN SHAH GUNGOO BAHMUNY :

His origin.—State of the Mahomedan power in the Deccan.—Mahomed Toghluk, King of Dehly, suspects the foreign officers stationed in the Deccan of an intention to revolt—takes steps to procure their being sent to his camp.—The officers concert measures with the Hindoo princes of the Deccan to revolt—they obtain possession of Dowlutabad.—The King of Dehly arrives, and attacks the confederates, but is induced to quit the Deccan to suppress an insurrection

in Guzerat.—The Deccan chiefs establish their independence—they raise Ismael to the throne.—Zuffur Khan, the principal Deccany partisan, takes Kand'har and Bidur from the Dehly officers in charge, and reaches Dowlutabad.—Ismael abdicates the throne in favour of Zuffur Khan, who assumes the title and appellation of Alla-ood-Deen Hussun Gungoo Bahmuny.—He creates Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory minister, and makes Koolburga his capital.—The ex-King Ismael attempts to recover his power—he is seized, tried, and executed, but his estates and titles are conferred on his son.—Hussun Gungoo divides the Deccan into four departments :—

1st department, Dabul, Koolburga, Rachore, and Moodul.
2d department, Choul, Joonere, Dowlutabad, and Peitun.
3d department, Mahoor, Ramgir, and the valley of Berar.
4th department Bidur, Kowlas, and Indore.

The King's health declines—his death.

AUTHORS differ regarding the birth and the early life of Alla-ood-Deen Hussun Bahmuny. It would be tedious and useless to relate all that has been said on this subject, so that I shall merely state that which is most generally believed in the Deccan.

Hussun, a native of Dehly, was the servant of Gungoo, a braminical astrologer, enjoying high favour with the Prince Mahomed Toghluk, and who, in consideration of the good conduct of Hussun, gave him a pair of oxen, and permitted him to till a small piece of land for his own use, While at work one day, the plough attached itself to some substance, which on examination Hussun found to be a chain fastened to a copper vessel, containing a number of antique gold coins. On making the discovery, he carried the treasure to his master, who, commending him for his

honesty, acquainted the Prince Mahomed Toghluk with the circumstance, who communicated it to his father, the King. The monarch ordered Hussun to the presence, and conferred on him the command of one hundred horse.

It is further related, that the bramin assured Hussun he perceived from his horoscope that he would rise to great distinction, and be eminently favoured of the Almighty; and made him promise if he ever should attain regal power, that he would assume the name of Gungoo, and employ him as his minister of finance; a request with which Hussun readily complied. It is said, also, that his future destiny was foretold by the celebrated Sheikh Nizam-ood-Deen Oulia. From these prognostications, Hussun's ambition prompted him to proceed to the Deccan, which became the seat of his future good fortune.

The Prince Mahomed Toghluk, having succeeded his father on the throne of Dehly, appointed his tutor, Kootloogh Khan, entitled Alum-ool-Moolk, Governor of Dowlutabad; and granted permission, at the same time, to such officers as chose to proceed with him. Among these was Hussun, on whom was bestowed, in jageer, the town of Koonchy* within the district of Ray Bagh. Some years after, Mahomed Toghluk led his army against the refractory nobles of Guzerat, whom he defeated. Many of these took refuge in the Deccan; where Kootloogh Khan and his officers, contrary to the duty they owed their

* Chenchy of Arrowsmith.

sovereign, afforded them an asylum. This proceeding induced the King to determine on removing the whole of the Deccan officers to other provinces. With this view, Ahmud Lacheen was deputed to wait on Alum-ool-Moolk, requiring him to send the Deccan officers to Guzerat. The governor accordingly summoned them to repair to Dowlutabad. Some months elapsed before they arrived; when, at length, they departed with Ahmud Lacheen for Guzerat. Ahmud entertained hopes of extorting presents from these officers to engage his interest in their favour with the King, but being disappointed, he resented their conduct, and treated them with contempt; remarking to his attendants, that they deserved death for having given protection to the rebel chiefs of Guzerat, and for so long neglecting the royal summons to appear at court. The Deccan officers, on hearing these sentiments, became alarmed; and on reaching the frontier, they formed a plan to revolt. It was notorious that the King frequently punished with death the slightest offences, and often without examining the accused; so that they considered it better for them to maintain themselves in the Deccan by force, than to deliver themselves up tamely like sheep to the slaughter.

This resolution being taken, they quitted Ahmud Lacheen, who in attempting to oppose them was defeated and slain. The chiefs were immediately joined by numbers of disaffected persons, and before they reached Dowlutabad had collected a large force. The rajas of the Deccan, also, suffering under the tyranny of the King of Dehly, rejoiced

at this revolt; in which some joined, while others, more circumspect, only privately encouraged it, and assisted the rebels with money and supplies. How just is the observation of the poet, who remarks,--

"When man is oppressed he revolts from his prince in the hour of danger;
"For how can a kingdom flourish when the ruler is tyrannical?"

Imad-ool-Moolk, the King's son-in-law, governor of Berar and Kandeish, residing at Elichpoor, finding himself daily deserted by his troops, and fearing least his officers should finally deliver him over to the Deccanies, quitted that city with his family, under pretence of hunting, and retired to Nundoorbar: while the Berar officers plundering the treasury, proceeded to join the insurgents' camp near Dowlutabad. The garrison of this fortress, also, perceiving the accumulated force of the rebels, delivered over the place into their hands. Thus, in a few months, the territory of the Deccan, which had been conquered in a long series of campaigns, and at a vast expense of blood and treasure, seemed about to be snatched from the hands of the King of Dehly.

On securing possession of Dowlutabad, the insurgents, in order to give weight to their measures, resolved to elect a leader; and they raised one Ismael Khan Afghan, an officer of one thousand horse, whose brother, Mullik Moogh, commanded the royal army in the province of Malwa, to be their King, with the title of Nasir-ood-Deen. This selection arose principally out of the hope that the Deccanies

would be supported by the new king's relative in Malwa. Honours were bestowed by the new sovereign on all his officers, and to each was assigned a landed estate. At this time, Hussun, who has been before mentioned, had the title of Zuffur Khan conferred on him, and he received some districts for his own support and that of a body of soldiers. Meanwhile Mahomed Toghluk approached from Guzerat, having been joined on the road by Imad-ool-Moolk Tubreezy, and Mullik Moogh, governor of Malwa. On his arrival, near Dowlutabad, he found the insurgents ready to receive him at the head of thirty thousand cavalry, drawn up on the same plain where Alla-ood-Deen had first defeated the son of Ram Dew, Raja of Dewgur. In the action which ensued, both wings of the royal army were routed, and Mahomed Toghluk was even preparing to fly, when suddenly the curse of disloyalty fell upon the rebels. Khan Jehan, one of their principal chiefs, receiving an arrow wound, was dismounted, and his division, consisting of six thousand men, dispersed and fled from the field. At the same instant, also, the standard-bearer of Nasir-ood-Deen Ismael, the newly-created King, panic-struck, allowed the colours to fall from his hands; and the insurgent troops, supposing their chief had forsaken them, gradually fell back. Night coming on, both parties retired without molestation to their camp. Nasir-ood-Deen Ismael having sent for Zuffur Khan and his principal chiefs, resolved that it would be inadvisable for the present to hazard another battle, and it was agreed that Nasir-ood-Deen Ismael should retire within the walls of Dowlutabad with

a sufficient garrison; while the officers should keep the field, provide for the protection of their own districts, and harass and cut off the enemy's convoys and supplies. The rebels, accordingly, silently withdrew during the night, so that at daylight the King of Dehly saw not a vestige of their army. On the following day, Imad-ool-Moolk Tubreezy was detached in pursuit of Zuffur Khan, and the King laid siege to Dowlutabad. After some time, the garrison, reduced to despair, was about to surrender, when intelligence arrived of an insurrection at Dehly, under a slave named Tuky, who, with a body of disaffected rabble, had committed great enormities in the capital, threatened the provinces, and was on march to Guzerat. The King, leaving the camp at Dowlutabad in charge of one of his generals, marched to quell this new rebellion. The Deccan officers, encouraged by this circumstance, collected from all parts, and advancing in force, compelled the royalists to raise the siege, and to follow their sovereign. On the retreat, they were hotly pressed by the Deccanies as far as the banks of the Nerbudda. On which occasion, the royalists lost much baggage, and several elephants laden with treasure.

Zuffur Khan also marched with twenty thousand horse to Bidur, then occupied by Imad-ool-Moolk Tubreezy; but owing to the superiority of the royalists, he dared not engage them. At last, being joined by fifteen thousand infantry, sent by the Raja of Tulingana, and five thousand horse, detached by Nasir-ood-Deen Ismael from Dowlutabad to his assistance, Zuffur Khan made

the attack. The action, which was hardly contested, continued from daylight till sunset, when, as it was decreed by God,* that Zuffur Khan should be raised to the sovereignty of the Deccan, Imad-ool-Moolk was slain, and his army routed. Many of the fugitives took shelter in Bidur, others in Kand'har,† while some few retired with difficulty to Malwa.

Zuffur Khan having left Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory to reduce the forts of Bidur and Kand'har proceeded to Dowlutabad; at which place he was met by Nasir-ood-Deen Ismael, who, on observing that greater attention was paid by the officers and the army to the general than to him, and perceiving, also, that they wished to have him for their king, prudently resolved to retire to a more humble station. Calling a meeting, therefore, of the principal officers present, Nasir-ood-Deen Ismael declared, that on account of his age he was unfit to rule in such times, and requested they would elect a new king, observing, that for his part he should recommend Zuffur Khan as most worthy of the throne. The assembly unanimously consented to the proposal; and the astrologers being directed to select a fortunate moment for his

Rubbee-ool-Akhur 24. A. H. 748. August 12. A. D. 1347.

inauguration, on Friday, the 24th of Rubbee-ool-Akhur, 748, the crown was placed on the head of Zuffur Khan, and a black canopy, the colour

* One cannot help observing, in this and several other passages throughout the work, the influence which predestination possessed over the author's mind.

† Kand'har, in the Deccan, must not be confounded with Kandahar, in Persia.

assumed by the Abasside caliphs, was elevated over his throne. The Khootba was read, and coins struck, in his name, impressed with his title of Alla-ood-Deen Hussun. From that period, also, Koolburga, which now became the royal residence, was named Ahsunabad,* and became the capital of the first Mahomedan king of the Deccan.

Alla-ood-Deen Hussun, having assumed charge of his government, neglected none of its duties, and his dominions daily extended; so that in a short time the territory from the river Beema to the vicinity of the fortress of Adony,† and from the port of Choul to the city of Bidur, was brought under his authority. It is related, that on his accession the King distributed four hundred pounds weight of gold, and one thousand pounds of silver, in charity, in the name of Nizam-ood-Deen Oulia, who had predicted his good fortune. Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory, remarkable alike for his integrity and good sense, was appointed minister; and the ex-king, Nasir-ood-Deen, re assuming his original name of Ismael, was honoured with the title of Ameer-ool-Omra. Not unmindful of his promise to his former master, the King entrusted his treasury to the bramin Gungoo, who quitted the service of Mahomed Toghluk Padshah, and

*The MSS. all contain this inconsistency. If the King's name be Hussun, the city should have been called Hussun-abad; but I imagine that some error, either in the name of the King or of the city, has taken place, through the neglect of transcribers.

†The correct name is Adwany, by which it is sometimes mentioned in the public archives of the Madras government.

repaired to the Deccan; and the affix of Gungoo Bahmuny was superadded to the King's title in all public documents, and remained engraven on the royal seal of that dynasty till its extinction.

It is generally believed that Gungoo was the first bramin who accepted office in the service of a Mahomedan prince; before whose time, the bramins never engaged in public affairs, but passed their lives in the duties of religion, and in the study of the Vedas; indifferent to fortune, conceiving the service of princes to be destructive of virtue. If, as physicians, astronomers, metaphysicians, or historians, they sometimes associated with the rich or powerful, they never consented to wear the chain of servitude, though courted by gifts, and promised the highest distinctions. Since Gungoo's acceptance of employment, however, the management of the revenue has been committed generally to bramins, by all the princes of the Deccan.*

Alla-ood-Deen Hussun, as well by wise policy as by force of arms, towards the end of the reign of Mahomed Toghluk, subdued every part of the Deccan previously subject to the throne of Dehly, and gained over by conciliatory measures the Afghan, Mogul, and Rajpoot officers of the Dehly government, holding possession of Bidur and Kand'har, which were delivered into his hands.

* Ferishta, in this as well as in many other instances, evinces a remarkable degree of ignorance of the state of Hindoo society, or he would have known, that bramins, not only in his time but long anterior to the Mahomedan conquest of the Deccan, were the only persons who kept the public accounts, or who cultivated the art of letters.

He wrested Kowlas, also, with its dependencies, from the Raja of Wurungole, with whom he formed a treaty of alliance. The death of Mahomed Toghluk, in 752, removing all appre-

A. H. 752.
A. D. 1351.

hensions of attack from Dehly, the King engaged assiduously in the internal economy of his government, and witnessed the marriage of his eldest son Mahomed with the daughter of Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory. On this occasion, he distributed ten thousand robes of cloth of gold, velvet, and satin, among the nobles of his court, besides one thousand Arabian and Persian horses, and two hundred sabres set with jewels. The populace were entertained with various amusements, and booths were erected in the streets of Koolburga, from which showers of confectionary were thrown among the crowd. The rejoicings lasted a whole year ; on the last day of which, the nobility and officers, in their turn, made offerings of jewels, money, and the rarest productions of all countries.

Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory, in consequence of this alliance, assumed a place in public assemblies above those of all the nobility. This circumstance gave offence to the Ameer-ool-Omra, who complained of it, but he was told, that in every settled government the civil officers took precedence of the military. Although apparently satisfied with this explanation, he secretly conspired with some disaffected persons to depose the King, and to re-ascend the throne he had abdicated. His designs not being favoured by Providence, the King obtained timely information of his intentions

from persons who had joined in the plot, but had since repented. Having convened all the principal officers of the court, the King openly accused Ismael, who denied the charge by the most solemn oaths. Being confronted, however, with the informers, and many of the conspirators having fully proved the charges against him, the Ameer-ool-Omra suffered death: his relations and adherents, however, were unmolested; no confiscation of his property took place; and his son, Bahadur Khan, was raised to the rank of Ameer-ool-Omra. This act, connected with other instances of justice tempered with mercy, raised the King's fame, and strengthened his power. The Raja of Tulingana, who had thrown off all fealty, was treated with generous forbearance, on account of the assistance he had rendered to the King; and he now voluntarily agreed to pay the tribute he had heretofore remitted to the King of Dehly.

Alla-ood-Deen, at the instance of Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory, sent a considerable force into the Carnatic,* from whence his general returned successful, with valuable contributions from several rajas in money and jewels, besides two hundred elephants, and one thousand female singers. Having received an invitation from Preme Ray, the representative of the ancient rajas of Guzerat, to invade that country, (which, owing to the weakness of the kings of Dehly, had become a prey

* By the Carnatic is meant the country in which the Canara or Canarese language prevails, south of a line drawn between Kolapoor and Bidur.

Shaban, A. H. 758. August, A. D. 1357.

to contending chiefs,) Alla-ood-Deen Hussun, in the month of Shaban, 758, took the field, and having detached his eldest son, the Prince Mahomed, in advance with twenty thousand horse, himself followed by easy marches. On arriving at Nowsary,* the Prince found the country abounding in game, of which he sent accounts to his father, who being fond of field sports, proceeded with expedition, and spent nearly a month in that vicinity; at the end of which period, having contracted an intermittent fever, and not using proper precaution in refraining from violent exercise and high living, his disorder increased to so alarming a degree, that he was induced to return to Koolburga. On reaching his capital, he convened all the learned and holy men in whose presence he vowed to abstain in future from all things forbidden by the law of the Koran. At this time he divided his Kingdom into four principal governments. The district, including the capital, extended from Koolburga as far west as Dabul, and south as far as Rachore and Moodkul, was placed under Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory: the tract comprehending Choul (on the sea-coast), and lying between Joonere, Dowlutabad, Beer, and Peitun (being the territory of Mahrut), the King committed to the charge of Mahomed Khan, the son of his brother Ameer Ally. On the north-east, Mahoor, Ramgir, and a portion of Berar, were intrusted to Sufdur Khan Seestany; and

* On the Tapty, near Surat.

Bidur, Indour, Kowlas, and the districts in Tulingana, were assigned to the charge of Azim Hoomayoon, son of Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory.

The King continued six months in a declining state of health; in spite of which, he gave public audience twice a day, transacting business, and administering justice to the poor and friendless. He issued orders to release all prisoners throughout his dominions, except those accused of capital offences, whom he commanded to Koolburga; and having himself examined them, gave liberty to all but seven, whom he delivered over to his son Mahomed, that after his death he might act towards them as he judged proper. At length, finding no benefit from medicine, and feeling nature exhausted, he discharged his physicians, and waited patiently the final cure of human ills. In this state, enquiring one day of his youngest son, Mahmood, who had been reading with his tutor, what book he had been studying, the youth replied, the Bostan of Sâdy, repeating the following passage as his lesson of that day:—

"I have heard that Jumsheed, that compound "of excellence, caused these words to be engraved "on a marble fountain: 'Many like me have "viewed this fountain, but they are gone, and "their eyes closed for ever. I conquered the world "by valour and prudence, but was unable to "subdue the power of the grave.'"

The King sighed at the recital, and calling his sons Dawood and Mahomed to him, said, "This "is my last breath, and with it I conjure you, as "ye value the permanence of the Kingdom, to

"agree with each other. Mahomed is my successor: submission and loyalty to him is your first duty in this world, and will ensure you happiness in the next." He then sent for his treasurer, and committed to each of his sons a sum of money to be distributed instantly among the poor. Having done which, they returned to inform him his wishes had been fulfilled; when he exclaimed, "Praise be to God," and instantly resigned his life to the Creator of all things. The death of Alla-ood-Deen Hussun happened eleven years, two months, and seven days, after his accession to the throne, on the 1st of Rubbee-ool-Awul, 759, in the sixtyseventh year of his age.

Rubbee-ool-Awul 1. A. H. 759. Feb. 10. A. D. 1358.

Alla-ood-Deen Hussun being once asked how he contrived without great treasures or armies to attain royalty, he replied, by kindnesses to my friends, generosity to my enemies, and by courtesy and liberality to all mankind. It has been asserted that he was descended from Bahmun, one of the ancient kings of Persia, and I, the author, have even seen a pedigree of him so derived, in the royal library of Ahmudnuggur; but it was probably only framed, after his accession to the throne, by flatterers and poets, for I believe his origin was too obscure to admit of being traced. The appellation of Bahmuny he certainly took out of compliment to his master, Gungoo, the bramin, a word often pronounced bâhmun. The King himself was by birth an Afghan.

MAHOMED SHAH BAHMUNY I.

The splendour of the court described—The King coins money of a square form.—The Hindoos refuse to circulate it, and they melt it down.—Several Hindoos suffer death. —The Rajas of Beejanuggur and Wurungole provoke a war with Mahomed Shah.—The Hindoos are defeated.— The King proceeds to Velumputtun—his cruel treatment of the Raja.—The King's army nearly cut off in his retreat, and he is himself wounded.—The Raja of Wurungole cedes Golconda, and peace is concluded; on which occasion the Raja presents the King with the celebrated Tukht Feroza, or azure throne.—The King, in a fit of debauchery, gives to a band of musicians an order for a large sum of money on the treasury of the Raja of Beejanuggur.—War ensues.—Moodkul taken by the Raja and the whole of the garrison is put to the sword.— Mahomed makes a vow to slay one hundred thousand Hindoos.—The Hindoos defeated, and seventy thousand slain in the first action.—The Raja is besieged in his capital.—The musicians are paid by the Raja.—Peace concluded.—Revolt by Beiram Khan at Dowlutabad.—Is defeated at Peitun, and eventually retreats to Guzerat. —Description of the civil government of Mahomed Shah I.—His death.

When Mahomed ascended the throne he added considerably to the splendour of the court. On the canopy over his seat he caused a golden ball, inlaid with jewels, to be placed, on which was a bird of paradise composed of precious stones, on whose head was a ruby of inestimable price, presented to the late king by the Raja of Beejanuggur. He increased the train of his attendants, and divided the nobility and officers into four orders, appointing to each specific duties and times for attendance at

court. He formed a corps which he styled *bardars*, whose duties consisted in mustering the troops, and in conducting persons to the audience. He had, also, a band of silehdars,* composed of two hundred youths, selected from among the sons of the nobility, to carry the royal armour and weapons; and he formed a body-guard of four thousand men, under the command of a nobleman of high rank, styled Meer Nobut. Fifty silehdars, and a thousand of the body-guard, attended at the palace daily. Every day, excepting on Fridays, he gave public audience early in the morning, and continued to transact business till the crier proclaimed noontide prayer, when the court broke up. Previously to ascending the throne, he used to prostrate himself before it out of respect, as he said, to the memory of his father. The throne was of silver, placed under a magnificent canopy, on a rich carpet, and the court before the hall of audience was shaded either by an awning of velvet brocade, or some other costly manufacture. To each of the governors of provinces he gave the name of Turrufdar. In the beginning of his reign, Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory enjoyed the distinction of sitting in the presence, but requesting to resign this privilege, he afterwards stood like the other nobles. The nobut,† or band of music, played

* It was with this Prince, probably, the word silehdar, so common now in the Deccan, originated, and which seems to answer to the cavalier of Europe:—a sort of knight who followed the court mounted on his own horse, and in whose train rode one or more attendants.

† The word *but* signifies a musical instrument; thus we have barbut, sackbut, &c. The nobut was originally a band com-

five times daily, at stated hours; and all persons, when introduced to the King, knelt and touched the ground with their foreheads.* After the dissolution of the Bahmuny dynasty, the several kings of the Deccan assumed the chutr, or canopy, and the Khootba; but none struck coins of gold in their own name, or sounded the nobut five times daily, excepting the King of Golconda, styled Kootb Shah.

The coins of the Bahmuny dynasty were of a square form, and of different value; having on one side the creed of the faithful, and the names of the as'hab (the first four caliphs), while on the other side was the King's title, and the year of his reign in which the coin was struck. The Hindoo bankers, at the instigation of the Rajas of Beejanuggur and Tulingana, melted all the coins which fell into their hands, in order that those of the infidels might alone be current in the Deccan. Mahomed Shah, incensed against them on their persisting in the offence, put to death many persons guilty of such conduct, and limited the business of the mint and of the bank to a few Kuhtries, the descendants of inhabitants of Dehly who had formerly emigrated into the Deccan. After which, the Bahmuny coins alone were used

posed of nine different instruments: the number of each description of which might be extended according to pleasure.

* This mode of salutation has long ceased in many parts of India. It was, probably, brought into the country by the Tartars, and is the *kooloo* of the Tartar court of Pekin, to which the English ambassadors have hitherto refused to submit.

in the Mahomedan dominions. Since the subversion of that dynasty, however, the coins of the Hindoo princes have been permitted to pass current.

Early in the reign of Mahomed Shah, the Rajas of Beejanuggur and Tulingana demanded restitution of the territories wrested from them by his father; threatening, in case of refusal, not only to invade his country themselves, but to draw upon him the army of the King of Dehly. Insecure of the attachment of some of his officers, and his treasury being low, owing to the large sums required by his mother, Mullika Jehan, to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, Medina, and Kurbulla, the King, during eighteen months, kept the ambassadors of the Rajas at his court, and sent his own to Beejanuggur, in order to gain time. During this period he displaced such officers as he suspected; and his mother having returned, he resolved on war, and demanded from the Rajas some of their best elephants, laden with jewels, gold, and the most precious manufactures of the Deccan. The Raja of Tulingana upon this deputed his son, Vinaik Dew, with an army, to recover Kowlas, while the Raja of Beejanuggur sent a considerable force to co-operate. The Hindoos were defeated by the Mahomedan troops, under Bahadar Khan; and that general, having plundered the country to the vicinity of Wurungole, obliged the Raja to pay him a large sum of money; to give twenty-five elephants, and many valuable jewels, which were presented to the King at Koolburga.

A. H. 773. In the end of the year 773, some
A. D. 1371. merchants arriving from distants parts,

brought horses for sale, but the King not approving of them, observed they were unfit for his use; on which the merchants stated they had lately possessed much finer horses, but which had been forcibly taken from them, at reduced prices, by Vinaik Dew at Velumputtun,* though they told him that they were designed for the King of Koolburga. Mahomed Shah, already offended with Vinaik Dew, resolved to take revenge for this fresh instance of disrespect; and committing the charge of his government to Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory assembled an army at Sooltanpoor, where he continued ten days, organising his troops. He there received during that time the prayers of the venerable Mahomed Siraj-ood-Deen Jooneidy for his success; and on the eleventh day began his campaign by slow marches towards Tulingana. On his arrival at Kullian, asking an attendant, to whom he allowed great freedom of speech, in what time he might reach Velumputtun, the wit replied, that if he continued his present speed, he might perhaps see it in twelve months. The King, nettled at this observation, immediately formed a light detachment of four thousand

*I have not ventured to alter the word in the original, though I know of no place of this name. Velumconda, or Bellumconda (the Sugar-hill), was the seat of government of a powerful raja nearly two centuries afterwards; and, perhaps, Bellumconda ought to be the true reading. The termination of puttun (town), and conda (a hill), being frequently used synonymously, if the town lie under a hill, as it does in this case. One principal objection to this surmise, however, arises from the towns of Kowlas and Kullian, which are here mentioned, not lying in the nearest road between Koolburga and Bellumconda.

cavalry, and proceeded with such rapidity, that in the space of a week he arrived near Velumputtun. He then ordered a band of veteran soldiers to disguise themselves in tattered habits, and repair to the town as horse-dealers, who had been plundered by robbers, in order to amuse the attention of the guards at the gates. The soldiers, on being questioned, replied, that they were merchants who had been plundered by a numerous banditti not far from the place, and were come to implore protection and justice from the governor. During this time Mahomed Shah advanced with a thousand horse, and the guards in attempting to shut the gates were prevented by the King's troops. The King now entering the town, commenced to slay the inhabitants without mercy, while Vinaik Dew, who little expected such an enemy, was engaged at an entertainment. On receiving the alarm, he fled with precipitation to the citadel, which the King assaulted without delay; when, after a faint opposition, Vinaik Dew tried to make his escape by a postern, but was taken prisoner in the city. In the morning he was questioned by the King, why he had dared to seize horses from merchants on their way to Koolburga? and making an insolent reply, Mahomed Shah, who had before this resolved to spare his life, commanded a pile of wood, which happened to be close to the citadel, to be lighted. He then ordered the tongue of Vinaik Dew to be cut out, and having placed him on a munjneek (catapulta), caused him to be cast from the walls into the flames, in which he was consumed. The King remained fifteen days in the town; and as

his army came up, it encamped without the gates, while he reposed from his fatigues, and gave himself up to pleasure. Having secured the treasures of Vinaik Dew, and levied a heavy contribution from the inhabitants, Mahomed Shah left Velumputtun, and returned towards his capital; but the Tulingies, who had now collected in great force, surrounding him from all quarters, so harassed his march, that he commanded his tents and baggage to be burnt, together with all his plunder, except jewels and gold. Being relieved from these encumbrances, he moved in close order from dawn till nightfall every day, relying for provisions on the villages on the route, and passing the night in strict vigilance, for fear of surprise. With all these precautions, the enemy destroyed such numbers of his soldiers, that of four thousand men only fifteen hundred returned. The King himself received a wound in his arm, and at Kowlas was obliged to halt from indisposition. Here he was fortunately joined by Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory with the main body of his army, when the Tulingies were driven back to their own country with great slaughter, and several places taken from them before the King returned to Koolburga.

The Raja of Tulingana, enraged at the death of his son, sent a letter to the Emperor Feroze Togluk of Dehly, acknowledging himself his vassal. He promised, that if he would send a force to the south he would act in conjunction with it, for the recovery of the Dehly possessions in the Deccan, and also consented to pay a considerable tribute.

In this offer he was joined by his ally, the Raja of Beejanuggur; but Feroze Toghluk was too much occupied with domestic commotions to assist them, and did not attend to their representaions.

Mahomed Shah, hearing of the overtures made by the Rajas, and aware of the weakness of the court of Dehly, resolved on the entire conquest of Tulingana. Having again committed the charge of his internal government to Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory, he marched to Kowlas, from whence he detached Azim Hoomayoon, with the troops of Bidur, towards Golconda, and Sufdur Khan, with those of Berar, against Wurungole, towards which latter place he followed in person by regular marches. The Raja of Tulingana, disappointed of aid from Dehly, declined engaging the royal army; and retiring to the woods, sent some of his chiefs with valuable presents to Bahadur Khan,* entreating his intercession for peace, which the King at first refused. The Raja then despatched one of his sons to the camp, with declarations of submission; when Mahomed Shah, at the earnest persuasion of his nobility, agreed to such terms as Bahadur Khan should judge consistent with the King's dignity. It was required, accordingly, that the Raja should present three hundred elephants, two hundred valuable horses, and thirty-three lacks of rupees; and that he should cede in perpetuity the hill-fort of Golconda, with its dependencies. The Mahomedan army having been

* Bahadur Khan had been previously employed as ambassador to the Raja of Wurungole.

nearly two years subsisting on the country of Tulingana, the Raja was much distressed, and saw no relief but in fulfilling the conditions. It was agreed that Mahomed Shah should retreat, and that Bahadur Khan should remain at Kowlas, to see the conditions of the treaty fulfilled. Mahomed Shah, having committed the charge of Golconda to Azim Hoomayoon, returned towards his capital, and disbanding his army at Bidur, halted there three months.

When the agents of the Raja came to Kowlas Bahadur Khan conducted them to the King, to whom they presented the offerings agreeably to treaty; and in return received rich dresses, besides valuable jewels, and several fine horses for the Raja. Some days after this, the ambassadors represented to Bahadur Khan, that if his Majesty, after fixing the territorial limits of the state of Tulingana, would sign a treaty, binding his successors to protect the rajas from further encroachment, their master would present him with a curiosity worthy of a great king.

Bahadur Khan having communicated this offer, the King was impatient to know of what the gift consisted; and the ambassadors being introduced, repeated their promise. Mahomed Shah, finding them sincere, drew up a paper in his own hand, fixing Golconda as the boundary between his kingdom and the Raja's possessions; conjuring his successors, as long as the rajas of Tulingana refrained from breaking their faith, not to molest them. The treaty being signed with the King's seal, and witnessed by the judges and the principal nobility, the Hindoo ambassadors

presented to the King a throne, set with valuable jewels, originally prepared by the Raja of Tulingana as a present to Mahomed Toghluk, King of Dehly. Mahomed Shah, highly gratified, dismissed the ambassadors with marks of honour and distinction. On his return to Koolburga he held a festival, and ascending the throne in great state, caused it to be called the Tukht-i-Feroza, or cerulean throne; after which he gave audience, and conferred costly presents and titles on those officers who had merited them by their conduct during the war. The silver throne of his father was ordered, however, to be placed in the treasury, and kept as a valuable relic.

I have heard old persons, who saw the Tukht-i-Feroza in the reign of Sooltan Mahmood Shah Bahmuny, describe it as being six cubits long, and two broad: the frame was of ebony covered with plates of pure gold, inlaid with precious stones of great value, in such a way as to be taken off and put on with ease. Every sovereign of the Bahmuny dynasty added some rich jewels, so that in the reign of Mahmood Shah, when it was taken to pieces, in order to remove part of the stones to be set in vases and goblets, the jewellers valued the whole at one crore* of hoons. I learned, also, that it was called Feroza from being enamelled of a sky-blue colour, which was in time totally concealed by the number of precious ornaments.

The festival above alluded to lasted forty days; during which little attention was paid to the law

* Four millions sterling.

of abstinence enjoined by our religion.* The nobility and common people, following the example of the sovereign, abandoned themselves to festivity and pleasure. On this occasion a number of musicians, who had learned the compositions of Ameer Khoosrow, and Khwaja Hussun, of Dehly, and some who had even heard those great masters, came, attended by three hundred singers, from Dehly to Koolburga. Mahomed Shah, hailing their arrival at such a moment as auspicious, received them with much attention; and was in such good humour, that on one occasion he permitted Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory and the Suddur-ool-Shereef to sit at the foot of his throne in public, as also Bahadur Khan, on whom he conferred the title of Ameer-ool-Omra, and procured his daughter in marriage for his son, the Prince Mujahid Shah.

Moolla Dawood Bidury, the author of the Tohfut-oos-Sulateen, states, he was then twelve years of age, and held the office of page and seal-bearer to the King. He writes, that "one evening, when the "fragrance of the garden of pleasure had suffused "the cheek of Mahomed Shah with the rosy tinge "of delight, a band of musicians sang two verses "of Ameer Khoosrow, descriptive of royal fes-"tivity; when the King, delighted beyond mea-"sure, commanded Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory "to give the three hundred performers a draft "for a gratuity on the treasury of the Raja of

* The abstinence particularly alluded to is the refraining from the use of fermented liquors, which appear to have been very commonly drank by the Mahomedan kings in India.

"Beejanuggur." The minister, though he considered the order arose out of the effects of the wine the King had drank, yet, in compliance with his humour, he wrote, but did not despatch it. Mahomed Shah, suspecting the truth from the minister's manner, enquired, on the next day, if the demand had been sent to the Raja, and being answered in the negative, he exclaimed, "Think "you a word without meaning ever escapes my "lips? the order I gave you arose not from in-"toxication but from serious design." Mullik Seif-ood-Deen, having accordingly affixed the royal seal to the document, despatched it by express messengers to the Raja of Beejanuggur. The Raja, naturally haughty, and proud of his independence, seated the person presenting the order for the money on an ass, and having exhibited him through all the quarters of Beejanuggur, sent him back, after he had been subjected to every mark of contempt and derision. He also gave immediate orders for assembling his army, and prepared to attack the dominions of the house of Bahmuny. With this intent, he marched with thirty thousand horse, three thousand elephants, and one hundred thousand foot, to the vicinity of the fortress of Adony, from whence he sent detachments to lay waste the territory of the Mahomedans.

The troops in Bidur and Berar not having yet rested from the fatigues of a two-years' campaign, the King contented himself with calling, for the present, on Khan Mahomed, with the division from Dowlutabad; at the same time he sent his son, the Prince Mujahid Shah, with a fifth part

of the plunder of Vellumputtun, to Sheikh Mahomed Siraj-ood-Deen, to be distributed among Syuds* and holy men, asking their prayers for his success against the unbelievers. He also collected all the religious men of Koolburga; and, accompanied by them, he proceeded to the grand mosque on a Friday, where he pronounced, with much devoutness, a form of invocation for the success of the army of Islam; and having fixed on a lucky instant for his march, he ordered his camp to be formed without the city.

The Raja of Beejanuggur, meanwhile, in spite of the rainy season, and the inundation of the Krishna, arrived before the fortress of Moodkul, to which he laid siege. The garrison, consisting of six hundred men of approved valour, left nothing undone for the defence of the place; but the governor, a relation of Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory, having formerly disgusted the troops by his severity, disaffection arose amongst them, and the officers became careless of their duty; the fort, in consequence, fell into the hands of the enemy; who, with a rancorous cruelty, put men, women, and children to the sword, with the exception of one man only, who escaping, brought intelligence of the event to the King.

Mahomed Shah, on hearing of this disaster, was seized with rage and indignation, and commanded the unfortunate messenger to be instantly put to death, declaring he would never look on a wretch who could survive the sight of the slaughter of so many brave companions. On the same day,

* Immediate descendants of the Prophet Mahomed through his daughter Fatima.

without waiting for the assemblage of his whole army, in the month of Jumad-ool-Awul, 767, he began his march, and took a solemn oath, that he would not sheath the sword till he had put to death one hundred thousand infidels, in revenge for the massacre of the faithful.

Jumad-ool-Awul, A. H. 767. January, A. D. 1368.

When he reached the banks of the Krishna, he swore by the Power who had created him, and had exalted him to dominion, that food or sleep should be unlawful for him, till he had crossed that river, in face of the enemy, and by the blessing of Heaven, having routed their army, had gladdened the souls of the martyrs of Moodkul. Having proclaimed his son, the Prince Mujahid Shah, his successor, he resigned all his elephants, except twenty, to the Prince, and giving him his advice, sent him back to Koolburga. He then crossed the river, with nine thousand chosen horse.

The Raja of Beejanuggur, notwithstanding his vast army, consisting of thirty thousand cavalry besides infantry, was so alarmed, that he sent off his treasure and elephants towards his capital the next morning, preparatory to engaging or retreating, as he might deem most advisable. The night being stormy and heavy rain falling, the elephants and other beasts of burden stuck frequently in the mud, and were unable to advance above four miles from the camp. Mahomed Shah, hearing of the movement of the Hindoos, immediately marched against them, leaving his tents standing. Towards the dawn he arrived at the Raja's camp; and the alarm being given, so great was the

consternation, that the infidels fled, with the utmost precipitation, to Adony, leaving every thing behind them. Mahomed Shah fell in with that part of the camp composing their market and baggage, and put to death, without distinction, men, women, and children, free and slave, to the number of seventy thousand souls. According to the Tohfut-oos-Sulateen, two thousand elephants, three hundred gun-carriages* and battering rams, seven hundred

* If any reliance is to be placed on Moolla Dawood Bidury the author of the Tohfut-oos-Sulateen, guns were used at this time by the Hindoos; and in a subsequent passage, it is remarked that the Mahomedans used them for the first time during the next campaign. But I am disposed to doubt the validity of both these statements. From the latter passage it seems possible, indeed, that the Mahomedans might have procured guns from the West in 1368, because they are said to have been used eighteen years previously by Edward III. at the battle of Cressy, though it is very improbable; and Ferishta, in stating it to be the first time the Mahomedans employed them, also observes, that Toorks and Europeans, skilled in gunnery, worked the artillery. That guns were in common use before the arrival of the Portuguese in India, in 1498, seems certain, from the mention made of them by Faria-e-Souza, who represents the Moorish vessels in India, in 1502, bearing down "upon the vessel of Peter de Ataide, called the, "St. Peter, into whom she poured her shot, and then made "away, and was pursued and taken off the bay of Cananor." Vol. i. chap. v. p. 59. Stevens's translation, Lond. ed. 1694. Faria-e-Souza, who accompanied the early Portuguese to India, writes, in chap. ix. p. 99. ibid. "The Moors of Sumatra, Ma-"lacca, and the Moluccoes, (by which last appellation he means "those princes bearing the title of Moolk, that is, the several "kings of the Deccan,) were well disciplined, and much better "stored with artillery than we that attacked them, A.D. 1506." All these circumstances, however, do not lead to the conclusion that the Hindoos had guns before they were introduced from the West by the Mahomedans, who adopted their use from Europe.

Arabian horses, and a sing'hasun set with jewels, were included in the booty of the King,—all other articles were left to the officers and soldiers. Mahomed Shah, regarding this victory as the omen of others, after passing the rainy season near Moodkul, and being reinforced by Khan Mahomed from Dowlutabad, marched against the infidels in Adony; on the plains of which place, near the Toongbudra, the Raja of Beejanuggur had taken up his station, having given the command of Adony to his sister's son. Here he had collected a great army of soldiers, together with many elephants, and all the munitions of war which he possessed.

Mahomed Shah, by the advice of Khan Mahomed, did not lay siege to Adony, but collecting a train of artillery which had never till then been employed by the faithful in the Deccan, he gave the command to Mookurrib Khan, son of Sufdur Khan Seestany, attaching to him a number of Toorks and Europeans acquainted with the art of gunnery. As it was common for bands of thieves to steal into the camp at night, and murder and maim men and horses, he commanded the elephants taken from the Raja to be sent to Koolburga, desiring the officers to return all their baggage to that place, except what was absolutely necessary. The artillery was placed round the camp, connected by strong ropes and chains; and regular patroles went the rounds during the night.

In a short time, the King, crossing the Toongbudra, entered the territory of Beejanuggur, now, for the first time, invaded by a Mahomedan

sovereign in person. The Raja, Krishn Ray, on receiving the intelligence, summoned the nobles of his court, and consulted on the best mode of opposing the Mahomedans. It was agreed, that Bhoj-Mul, a maternal relative of the Raja, and commander of his army, should conduct the war. Bhoj-Mul, vain to excess on receiving this commission, asked the Ray if he should bring the Moslem king alive a prisoner into his presence, or present him only his head upon a spear. Krishn Ray replied, that a living enemy, under any circumstance, was not desirable; he therefore desired that he might be put to death as soon as he should take him. Bhoj-Mul, having received his dismissal, marched to oppose Mahomed Shah with forty thousand horse, and five hundred thousand foot. He commanded the bramins to deliver every day to the troops discourses on the merit of slaughtering the Mahomedans, in order to excite the zeal of his soldiers. He encouraged the bramins, also, to arouse their indignation, and confirm their hatred of the enemy, by representing them as the destroyers of temples, and of the images of their gods, and also as the slaughterers of cows.*

Mahomed Shah, when he arrived within fifteen coss of the Hindoo camp, commanded his general, Khan Mahomed, to muster the troops, who were found to consist of fifteen thousand cavalry, and fifty thousand infantry, of which ten thousand horse, and

* To those persons acquainted with the religious feelings of the Hindoos it is unnecessary to state, that they consider the slaying of a cow the most heinous of all sacrileges.

thirty thousand foot, besides artillery, advanced under Khan Mahomed. On the 14th of Zeekad the armies met, and an engagement ensued, which lasted from dawn of day till the sun declined, and great numbers were slain on both sides. Moosa Khan and Eesy Khan, who commanded the right and left wings of Khan Mahomed's line, both sipped of the cup of martyrdom, and their troops broke, a misfortune which had nearly given a fatal blow to the army of Islam. At this instant, Mahomed Shah appearing with three thousand fresh horse restored the spirits of Khan Mahomed, as also of the disordered soldiers, who rallied and joined him.

Zeekad 14. A. H. 767. August 22. A. D. 1366.

Mookurrib Khan, having thrown the enemy's line into some confusion with the artillery, asked permission to charge and complete the rout with the cavalry. Khan Mahomed detached several chiefs to his support, when the whole advancing with rapidity, the infidels were reduced to short weapons, such as swords and daggers. At this time, an elephant, named Sheer Shikar,* belonging to Khan Mahomed, becoming unruly, rushed into the centre of the enemy's line, where he was stopped by the elephant of Bhoj-Mul, whose driver was killed. Khan Mahomed, with five hundred horse, followed, and the enemy's elephants turning on their own line, threw their ranks into confusion. Bhoj-Mul, after receiving a mortal wound, was carried off the field, and

* The Tiger-hunter, renowned for its courage and prowess in that sport.

his followers no longer made resistance. The infidels, seeing their centre broken, fled on all sides. The scimitars of the faithful had scarcely been sheathed, when the King appearing, the massacre of the unbelievers was renewed in so relentless a manner, that pregnant women, and children at the breast even, did not escape the sword. Mahomed Shah, halting a week on the field of battle, circulated accounts of his victory throughout his own dominions. In prosecution of his vow, he marched towards the camp of Krishn Ray, who thinking himself unequal to the contest, retreated for shelter to the woods and mountains. The King followed him from place to place for three months, putting to death all whom he met, without distinction. At length Krishn Ray threw himself into Beejanuggur, his capital. The King soon arrived with his army near that city. There he was molested by the infidels, who hovered round the camp every night, not daring to attack him during the day: and at the end of a month, finding it impracticable to take the place, or draw the enemy out of their works, the King, pretending violent illness, gave orders for retreating. The army having moved, Krishn Ray, with his troops, sallied from the city, shouting from all sides, "Your King is dead: "the prayers of our bramins have been heard, "and we will not suffer a single man of you to "escape us." In this manner the army crossed the Toongbudra, followed closely by the enemy, till at length the King, encamping on a spacious plain, commanded the army to halt, and Krishn

Ray also took up a position at no great distance. Mahomed Shah, now conceiving it a fit opportunity to avow his intentions, gave a public audience to satisfy his officers of his welfare, who were before somewhat dispirited, being unacquainted with the stratagem. After this, retiring early, under pretence of weakness, and calling his principal generals into his private apartments, he commanded them to arm their troops, and wait his orders at a certain place, to which about midnight he repaired, and after forming them into various parties, he proceeded to surprise the enemy's camp.

Krishn Ray and his officers had passed the night in drinking, and in the company of dancing girls and singers, and were fatigued and overcome with sleep; from which they were suddenly roused at the dawn of morning, by the groans of the dying, and the shouts of the heroes of the faith, which reached to the heavens. Krishn Ray, finding it vain to keep order among his panic-struck soldiers, fled, and did not draw rein till he reached his capital. On this occasion, Mahomed Shah acquired immense booty from the plunder of the camp. About ten thousand of the enemy were slain in the pursuit: but the King's thirst for vengeance being still unsatisfied, he commanded the inhabitants of every place around Beejanuggur to be massacred. The bramins and principal Hindoo officers, seeing such devastation, rose against Krishn Ray; complaining that his reign was inauspicious; that their honour was lost; that ten thousand bramins had been already slain, and that not a remnant of population would be left. Krishn Ray replied,

that he had done nothing without their advice, but that he had no power to control fate, and was ready to accede to whatever they wished ; upon which they desired him to make peace, as his father had done, and endeavour to appease the enemy. Krishn Ray accordingly despatched ambassadors to the King, confessing his errors, and entreating pardon ; but Mahomed Shah refused to listen to any overtures.

At this time, a favourite remarked to the King, that he had only sworn to slaughter one hundred thousand Hindoos, and not to destroy their race altogether. The King replied, that though twice the number required by his vow might have been slain, yet till the Ray satisfied the musicians, he would neither make peace nor spare the lives of his subjects. To this the ambassadors, who had full powers, immediately agreed, and the money was paid on the instant. Mahomed Shah then said, "Praise be to God, that what I ordered has been "performed. I would not let a light word be "recorded of me in the pages of history."

The ambassadors, seeing the King pleased, bowed their foreheads to the ground, and besought him to hear from them a few words. Being permitted to speak, they observed, that no religion required the innocent to be punished for the crimes of the guilty, more especially helpless women and children : if Krishn Ray had been in fault, the poor and feeble inhabitants had not been accessary to his errors. Mahomed Shah replied, that the decrees of Providence had ordered what had been done, and that he had no power to alter them. The

ambassadors observed, that as the bestower of kingdoms had conferred on him the government of the Deccan, it was probable that his successors and the princes of the Carnatic might long remain neighbours, which made it advisable to avoid cruelty in war; and they proposed, therefore, that a treaty should be made not to slaughter the helpless and unarmed inhabitants in future battles. Mahomed Shah, struck with the good sense of this proposal, took an oath, that he would not, hereafter, put to death a single enemy after a victory, and would bind his successors to observe the same line of conduct. From that time to this, it has been the general custom in the Deccan to spare the lives of prisoners in war, and not to shed the blood of an enemy's unarmed subjects. Mahomed Shah, after he had thus received satisfaction, returned to Koolburga, visiting on his way Sheikh Siraj-ood-Deen, to whose prayers, as well as to the charities sent to Mecca with his mother, he ascribed his successes over the Hindoos.

Mahomed Shah had not been above five days at his capital when he was obliged to march to Dowlutabad, to quell a rebellion in that quarter. The King's lately assumed illness on his retreat from Beejanuggur, at a time when he was hemmed in by the enemy, had given rise to a report of his death, which circulated throughout every part of his dominions, and induced several adventures to excite disturbances. Among this number was Beiram Khan Mazinderany, whom the late King had honoured with the appellation of Son. Finding the country of Dowlutabad empty of

troops, he combined with Govind Dew Maratta,* a chief of the Naiks, to raise the standard of revolt; and some of the chiefs of Berar secretly sent troops to assist him, as also did the Raja of Buglana. Elated by his success, he appropriated to his own use some years' revenues of Mahrut† and Berar, that Mahomed Shah had deposited in the fortress of Dowlutabad, with which he levied troops. Most of the towns and districts of Mahrut fell into his hands; which having divided among his adherents, he, in a sort time, collected nearly ten thousand horse and foot.

Mahomed Shah wrote to Beiram Khan, that as he supposed the report of his death, with the temptations held out to him by evil-disposed persons, had alone led him to rebel, he promised, if he returned to his allegiance, to pardon him and his adherents. This letter was conveyed by Syud Julal-ood-Deen and Shah Mullik, two officers of the court, who were especially deputed to induce him to submit. Beiram Khan, on receipt of the King's letter, held a consultation with Govind Dew, who observed, that Mahomed Shah was by nature haughty, and jealous of authority, and that after having offended him by such acts of

* Dew or Diva, a term commonly applied to the divinity, was sometimes used to signify royalty also. Thus we find the Raja of Dewgirry or Divagirry (the Royal Hill) was called Ram Dew, and his son, Shunkul Dew: vide vol. i. p. 304, &c. The Rajah of Tulingana was called Vinaik Dew, vol. ii. p. 301. At the present day, the rajas of Rajamundry, and many of those residing along the eastern coast of the peninsula of India, assume the same title.

† Ferishta always writes Mahrut for Mahrashtra.

disobedience, it was by no means prudent to rely on his mercy; therefore, as they possessed such a fortress as Dowlutabad, and the Raja of Buglana and the chiefs of Berar had made common cause with them, it was imprudent to hesitate, and better to take every measure to effect their designs, and render themselves independent. Beiram Khan, adopting the specious arguments of Govind Dew, heeded not the King's admonitions, but increased his preparations for war, so that Syud Julal-ood-Deen and Shah Mullik returned to the King, and submitted to him an account of the failure of the objects of their mission.

Mahomed Shah, enraged at this contumacious behaviour, despatched Musnud Ally and Khan Mahomed, with the bulk of his army, to the north, intending to follow himself shortly after. Beiram Khan, accompanied by Govind Dew and many of the chiefs of Berar and Buglana, moved to Peitun; where, by liberal promises, they collected a great host of needy adventurers. Meanwhile, Musnud Ally, who was a veteran of much experience, not thinking it advisable to engage hastily, halted at Sewgam, where Beiram Khan made an attempt to surprise his camp, but finding the royalists prepared, he retreated without effecting his object. Musnud Ally, in his turn, resolved to attack the enemy, and communicated his intention to Mahomed Shah, then engaged on a hunting excursion in the hills on his frontiers. On receipt of his general's letter, the King prepared to advance with his attendants, in all about three hundred; his ministers, however, alarmed for his safety, represented, that as from Musnud Ally's despatches the rebels appeared to be

in force it would be prudent to proceed slowly, and admit of time for the army to join, in order to make the attack with effect. The King observed, that though there was some justice in their observations, his determination was fixed, saying, that as he had penetrated into the very centre of Tulingana, with only one thousand horse and punished his enemies, and that with only nine thousand men he had driven the hosts of Beejanuggur to the hills and woods and returned successful, surely three hundred men were sufficient to cope with a few rebels. Accordingly he mounted his favourite steed Shubdeez, and moved with such expedition, that he reached Peitun at the instant when Musnud Ally was in the act of engaging the insurgents. The news of the King's approach soon became known; and the Raja of Buglana, clapping spurs to his horse, deserted the cause, followed by all his dependants; while Beiram Khan and Govind Dew, confounded at this defection of their ally, fled from the field without drawing a single bowstring on the royalists, and hastened to seek shelter in the fortress of Dowlutabad. While the victorious troops were in the act of plundering the enemy's camp, the King arrived with seventy followers and some elephants, and encamped till the next day. He evinced his approbation by marks of honour which he conferred on the victors; and in the morning moved with such rapidity, that before evening he arrived before Dowlutabad, and took measures to besiege it.

Beiram Khan and Govind Dew, aroused from their dream of ambition, were at a loss how to act. During the night they quitted the fort, and

going to the house of Sheikh Ein-ood-Deen, besought his advice. The Sheikh replied, that retiring to the fortress, and shutting themselves up, was far from prudent; that they had better take their wives and children by the hand, and disregarding their effects, make their escape to Guzerat while they yet had it in their power. In compliance with this advice, they sent messages to their families, recommending them to repair to the Sheikh's house without delay. The women, who had previously received some intimation on the subject, brought with them horses and other necessaries for their journey. The Sheikh, spreading his hands over the heads of Beiram Khan and Govind Dew, desired them to depart, saying, that by the blessing of God they would be safe; and they accordingly proceeded on their way towards Guzerat.

In the morning Mahomed Shah, hearing of their flight, pursued them with four hundred horse, but not overtaking them, he returned full of wrath to Dowlutabad, where he vented his anger against Sheikh Ein-ood-Deen, with whom he was before dissatisfied on the following account:—On his accession to the throne, Mahomed Shah had demanded a declaration of allegiance from all the holy men of his kingdom, who had tendered it, with the exception only of this sheikh. He refused to do so because the King drank wine, and was guilty of excesses forbidden by the divine law. On the present occasion, he sent a messenger to order the holy man to his presence, and required him either to take the oath of allegiance, or give an assurance, under his own hand, of his

fidelity. The Sheikh, without replying to the message, related the following anecdote to the King's messenger, to be conveyed to the King:—Once a scholar, a syud, and a prostitute, were taken prisoners by infidels, who promised to give them quarter if they would worship their idols; if not, they threatened them with instant death. The scholar, agreeably to the casuistry of the schools of logic, reconciled himself to perform the ceremony, and the syud thought it must be right to follow so worthy an example. The prostitute, however, said, "I have been all my life sinning, "and am neither a scholar nor a syud, to be able "to hope for mercy for this additional crime." "She refused, therefore, and suffered death. The Sheikh observed, "My case is like hers, and I am "resigned to the King's resentment, but will "neither come into his presence, nor acknowledge "allegiance to him." Mahomed Shah, being more incensed, commanded him to quit the city. The Sheikh obeyed, and repairing to the tomb of Sheikh Boorhan-ood-Deen, seated himself thereon, and exclaimed, "Where is the man who dares to "drive me hence?"* The King, admiring his resolution, repented of his conduct, and sent the following verse to him by the Sudr-oos-Shureef:—

"I am submissive to thee, be thou submissive to me."

The Sheikh replied, that if Mahomed Shah

* The shrines of holy men have in all ages been used as sanctuaries, though, as in the case of Thomas-à-Becket, they have not always been respected.

Ghazy* whould, like his father, promote the observance of the holy ordinances, by discouraging vice, and abstaining from wine in public, and by permitting the judges to execute the laws against those persons who offended in these instances, no one would be dearer to him. He also sent the following verse, written in his own hand:

"While I live I would do nought but good.
"I can have no views but loyalty and attachment.
"Even to those who have injured me,
"If in my power, I would for evil return good."

Mahomed Shah was so much pleased with the appellation of Ghazy, given him by the Sheikh, that he commanded it to be hereafter added to his titles.

Having entrusted the government of Mahrut to Khan Mahomed, the King returned to Koolburga, when he commanded all the distilleries in his dominions to be destroyed, and engaged earnestly in requiring a strict observance of the laws. He determined to root out entirely the banditti of the Deccan, so famous in all former ages for their daring robberies on caravans. For which purpose, orders were issued to the governors of provinces to use their utmost endeavours to clear the country of thieves and highwaymen, by putting them to death without distinction, and to send their heads to the capital, as examples. The consequence was, that in six or seven months there remained not a vestige of these offenders within the King's dominions. Nearly eight thousand heads

* The term Ghazy has been before explained. Vide note, p. 189.

were brought to Koolburga from different parts, and were piled up near the city gates.

Mahomed Shah, having attended to the admonitions of Sheikh Ein-ood-Deen, maintained a friendly correspondence with that venerable personage throughout his reign, observing towards him great deference and respect. The Sheikh, on his part, frequently sent exhortations to the King, in which he did not hesitate to deliver his sentiments with honest freedom.

The Rajas of Beejanuggur and Tulingana, as well as all the zemindars of the Deccan, being now confirmed in their submission, and remitting their stipulated tributes, the kingdom was free from war; and Mahomed Shah, laying aside all views of further conquests, employed himself in promoting the happiness of his subjects; to effect which, he made a tour annually through one quarter of his dominions, attended by the governor, who escorted him back to the capital. In these excursions he was employed in investigating the state of the resources, in redressing complaints, and in executing plans of public utility. During his reign all ranks of people reposed in security and peace. Sensible of the value of a just king, they were grateful and obedient to his authority, and prayed earnestly for his long reign. But as the wolf of death, greedy of prey, constantly seizes a fresh Joseph, and a Jacob becomes plunged in grief, so the claws of the savage darted on his victim, and on the 19th of Zeekad, A. H. 776, snatched the King from the abode of this vain world, and

Zeekad 19.
A. H. 776.
March 21.
A. D. 1375.

overwhelmed mortals, like Jacob for his son, with lamentations and tears for his loss. Mahomed Shah was buried by the side of his father,—and the words

"All is vanity"

were engraved by his orders on his tomb. Happy the King who passes a reign like his, and of whom such memorials remain. He was respected in his life, and after his death remembered on account of his virtues.

According to the Siraj-oot-Towareekh, so much treasure and such mumbers of elephants, as were collected in the household of Mahomed Shah Bahmuny, were never possessed by any other prince of that dynasty. He had three thousand male and female elephants; and in the reign of any other king we only read of two thousand. The sums of gold accumulated by him, according to the same author, exceeded those acquired by other princes a full half. No prince before him ever so far reduced the rajas and zemindars of the Carnatic, from whom he wrested much of the accumulated riches of seven hundred years; and it is computed that in his reign nearly five hundred thousand unbelievers fell by the swords of the warriors of Islam, by which the population of the Carnatic was so reduced, that it did not recover for several ages.*—Mahomed Shah reigned seventeen years.

* The exultation of Ferishta over the slaughter of five hundred thousand of the human race, because they were infidels, tends to show how deluded the minds of the greatest men may become by the force of precept and education.

MUJAHID SHAH BAHMUNY:

His personal prowess—anecdotes of his youth—military negotiations with the Raja of Beejanuggur—takes the field —kills a tiger with a single arrow—arrives at Beejanuggur. —The Hindoos fly before the Moslem troops.—The King pursues them through woods to the sea-coast.—The Hindoo Raja returns to Beejanuggur—is closely pursued by the Mahomedans.—The King enters the streets of the town, but is warmly opposed by the Hindoos.—Single combat of the King with a Hindoo, whom he slays.—A general action after which the Moslems withdraw.—Peace concluded.—The King returns towards Koolburga—is cut off by his uncle Dawood Khan.

Mujahid, the son of Mahomed Shah, by the daughter of Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory, succeeded his father on the throne of the Deccan. This prince possessed great bodily strength, was tall of stature, and in dignity and majesty of aspect surpassed all the princes of his race. He was unrivalled in valour, in fortitude, and strength of constitution. He spoke the Toorky language fluently, which he acquired from his favourite companions, who were for the most part either Toorks or Persians. He was fond of archery from his infancy; and of conversing on military subjects. While a youth, he broke open the door of his father's treasury, and taking from it some bags of gold, divided it among

his play-fellows. The treasurer discovering the theft, informed Mahomed Shah Bahmuny, who, enraged at so vicious a propensity in his son, sent Moobarik, his spice-bearer, to call the Prince before him. Upon his arrival, he saw his father was angry, and guessed the cause; but unable to excuse himself, he remained silent, though he received from the King several severe stripes with a whip, that drew blood. When he was dismissed, he went and complained against Moobarik to his mother; observing, that if he had informed him of the discovery, he could have made her his intercessor, or have contrived an excuse to evade going to his father's presence till his passion was abated. The Queen observed that the servant was not in fault. The Prince made no reply; and stifling his resentment, behaved to Moobarik with his usual courtesy. At the end of a week, he took an opportunity of observing to him, that he had heard he possessed great bodily strength, and had overcome the most celebrated wrestlers by the force of his grasp, on which account the Prince said he wished to wrestle with him. Moobarik consented, and a struggle ensued, in which Mujahid Shah threw him to the ground with such violence, that in the fall he broke his neck, and died. This happened when the Prince was only fourteen years old.

At the age of nineteen, Mujahid Shah succeeded to the throne; immediately after which he made a pilgrimage to Dowlutabad, in order to pay his devotions at the tomb of Sheikh Boorhan-ood-Deen; and having chosen Sheikh Zein-ood-Deen for his

spiritual guide, returned to his capital. On this occasion, becoming suspicious of Khan Mahomed, he appointed Azim Hoomayoon, governor of Dowlutabad, in his stead, and recalled the former chief to the presence. He also wrote to Krishn Ray, Raja of Beejanuggur, that as some forts and districts, between the Krishna and Toongbudra rivers were held by them in participation, which occasioned constant disagreements, it was expected the Raja would, for the future, forego his claims to all territory east of the Toongbudra, together with the fort of Bunkapoor, and some other places. Krishn Ray, in reply to this demand, said, that the forts of Rachore, Moodkul, and others, between the rivers, had for ages belonged to his family; that the King would do wisely, therefore, to surrender them, confine his boundary to the north bank of the Krishna, and restore the elephants which Mahomed Shah had acquired in war, owing to the ill conduct of his servants; by which concessions, their present feelings towards each other might be changed into friendship.

Mujahid Shah, on receipt of this answer, opened the treasures of his father, and made great additions to his army. He entrusted the management of the civil affairs of his government to Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory, and resolved to march to Beejanuggur. When the troops of Dowlutabad, Bidur, and Berar, were collected, he moved to the south, carrying with him a great treasure, and five hundred elephants. Crossing the Krishna and Toongbudra rivers, he arrived before the fortress of Adony, the strongest fortification in the Deccan,

which he ordered Sufdur Khan Seestany to besiege with the army of Berar, and sent the Ameer-ool-Omra, Bahadur Khan, and Azim Hoomayoon, with their troops, onwards in the direction of Beejanuggur. Upon hearing that Krishn Ray was encamped on the banks of the Toongbudra, the King advanced towards him, by slow marches, and with great caution, while the Hindoo Prince made preparations for an engagement.

At this time Mujahid Shah was informed that an enormous tiger daily committed great ravages, and that many travellers had been killed by him on the road near his den, so that passengers had now left off proceeding by that road. The King, naturally fond of hunting, required to be conducted to the spot of the tiger's retreat. He forebade any person accompanying him without permistsion; and he went with seven attendants only, on foot, to the monster's lair: the tiger, perceiving these strangers, roared horribly, and stalked towards them. The King commanded his followers to halt and reserve their missiles, while he advanced some paces alone, and discharging an arrow, it entered the side of the animal, which fell dead. Mujahid Shah declared, that had he missed his aim it was his intention to have attacked the tiger with sword and dagger. As it appeared extraordinary that a single arrow should kill a tiger, the King commanded his attendants to open the body, that he might ascertain what vital part had been pierced; which being done, the arrow was found to have entered the heart.

The idolaters of Beejanuggur, hearing of this

exploit, were struck with dread; and though they had advanced to give battle, they now altered their intentions, and determined on keeping close in the woods, from the cover of which they might annoy the faithful, and be themselves secure. With this view Krishn Ray, abandoning Beejanuggur to the charge of his ministers, withdrew with his army to the forests on the south of the city.

Mujahid Shah, having heard much of the beauty of the city, advanced to Beejanuggur; but conceiving it imprudent to besiege it at present, he moved in pursuit of the enemy. Krishn Ray fled through the woods and hills towards Seeta Bund Rameswur* followed by the King, who cut passages for his cavalry through forests before inaccessible. In this manner, the Ray fled from place to place for six months, but never dared to appear in the open plain. In vain did the favourites of the King represent the pursuit as fruitless, and destructive to the troops. At last his good fortune prevailed; the health of Krishn Ray and his family became affected by the pestilential air of the woods, and they were warned by the physicians to quit them. He had entertained hopes that the King would have been taken ill,

* It is probable both the author from whom Ferishta derives his authority as well as himself, have mistaken the Rameswur near Sudashewgur, on the western coast, south of Goa, for the real Seeta Bund Rameswur, or Ramiserum, situated opposite Ceylon, on the extreme southern part of the eastern coast of the peninsula. The spot alluded to is called Cape Ramas in our maps, and is within the limits of the ancient kingdom of Beejanuggur. The same mistake occurs in vol. i. p. 374.

from the unwholesome climate, and would have been obliged to retreat, but the evil fell on himself. Driven by necessity, therefore, Krishn Ray retired by secret paths to his capital of Beejanuggur; whither he was pursued by an army despatched after him; while the King, accompanied by the Ameer-ool-Omra, Bahadur Khan, and five thousand men, went to view Seeta Bund Rameswur.

Mujahid Shah, on this occasion, repaired a mosque* which had been built by the officers of Alla-ood-Deen Khiljy. He broke down many temples of the idolaters, and laid waste the country; after which he hastened to Beejanuggur. To that city there were two roads, one fit for the passage of armies, the other narrow and difficult. As the former was lined with ambushes, he chose the latter; through which he marched, with a select body of troops, and appeared suddenly in the suburbs of the city. Krishn Ray, astonished at his boldness, sent myriads of his people to defend the streets. The King drove them before him, and gained the bank of a piece of water, which alone

*Never having seen the sea, it was quite natural the King should avail himself of this opportunity of visiting Rameswur. I was informed by a native, on whom I think I can rely, that a very ancient Mahomedan mosque still exists, and is the only monument of that race in the neighbourhood. As the place is within our jurisdiction, it would be an object of curious research to verify the circumstance, for in an historical point of view the question is not without importance. The erection of the mosque in the reign of Alla-ood-Deen Khiljy is alluded to in his reign, vol. i. p. 374.—Ferishta states it was standing in his days; and it seems probable to be the same to which my informant alluded.

divided him from the citadel, wherein Krishn Ray resided. Near this spot was an eminence, on which stood a temple, covered with plates of gold and silver, set with jewels: it was much venerated by the Hindoos, and called, in the language of the country, Puttuk. The King, considering its destruction a religious obligation, ascended the hill, and having rased the edifice, became possessed of the precious metals and jewels therein. The idolaters, on seeing this object of their veneration destroyed, raised shrieks and lamentations to the sky; and obliging Krishn Ray to head them, advanced resolutely in great numbers. Upon which the King, laying aside his umbrella of state, and with one of his armour-bearers only, an Afghan named Mahmood, crossed a small rivulet to observe the motions of the infidels. At this moment, a Hindoo, recognising the King from the horse he rode, resolved, by revenging the destruction of his country's gods, to gain immortal renown; he accordingly approached, unperceived, through the hollows and broken ground, along the banks of the piece of water before described, and was in the act of charging the King at full speed; when Mujahid Shah, perceiving him, made a sign to Mahmood Afghan, who, without delay, interposed himself. Mahmood's horse rearing, fell to the ground, and gave to his antagonist a momentary advantage. On this Mujahid Shah advanced with the quickness of lightning. The Hindoo changed his object, and aimed a heavy stroke at the King, raising at the same instant a shout of triumph, which caused the spectators to believe his blow was effective.

Luckily, a helmet of iron saved the King's head, who inflicted such a wound on his enemy, that he was divided from the shoulder to the navel, and fell dead from his horse. On which the King, having replaced Mahmood on his charger, joined the army, amid the acclamations of his friends, and the admiration of the enemy, who could not withhold their applause for such an instance of gallantry.

Krishn Ray, advancing with his troops, the King committed his right wing to the Ameer-ool-Omra, Bahadur Khan, and his left to Azim Hoomayoon. Sufdur Khan began the attack with the fireworks, and after desperate efforts, and much slaughter on both sides, the enemy was put to flight. The conquerors had scarcely reposed from their fatigues, when the brother of Krishn Ray arrived at the city from his government, with a reinforcement of twenty thousand cavalry, and a body of infantry. Krishn Ray, collecting his broken troops, marched once more against the King. Many instances of valour were displayed, and numberless soldiers fell in each army. Among the faithful, Mookurrib Khan,* with many officers of rank, tasted the sherbet of martyrdom. Mujahid Shah was seen in person in all parts of the field, animating his troops by his example. Wherever he guided his sable steed, there the idolaters lay prostrate beneath his quivering lance. The King's uncle, Dawood Khan, had been left with six

* He appears to have been commandant of the fire-works, whether guns or otherwise, and was a native of Asia Minor.

thousand horse, and some infantry, to occupy a post called Dhuna Sodra. On learning that the engagement had begun at dawn, and that the enemy were not yet defeated, perceiving also that reinforcements were joining them every instant, he became alarmed for the safety of the King, and quitting his station joined in the battle, in which he behaved with surprising gallantry. He had three horses killed under him, and was frequently obliged to fight on foot. The King, on seeing the standard of Dawood Khan, was far from pleased, but stifled his resentment till victory declared for the faithful: he then called Dawood Khan before him, and gave him a harsh reprimand for quitting his station; observing, that had the army been defeated, and the enemy in possession of Dhuna Sodra, not a Mussulman could have escaped. The King instantly sent a body of troops to secure this important position; but the Hindoos, taking advantage of Dawood Khan's absence, had already taken possession of it; and the officer, conceiving them too strong to be attacked, sent advice to the King. Though forty thousand of the enemy were said to have fallen, yet so heavy had been the loss of the Mahomedans, that the King did not think it prudent to remain longer where he was, and moved his whole army towards Dhuna Sodra, which was evacuated on his approach; when Mujahid Shah, with a choice body of troops, remained in person at the entrance of the pass, until the army had passed in safety, conceiving it likely that Krishn Ray would harass him in the retreat. All those persons who have beheld

this country acknowledge that Mujahid Shah, in this expedition, performed an action almost impossible but with the aid of Providence.

The country of Canara (Carnatic) is in length, from north to south, from the Krishna to Seeta Bund Rameswur,* six hundred coss, and its breadth, from west to east, one hundred and fifty, from the shores of the Indian ocean to the borders of Tulingana. The people speak in some parts the Canarese, and in some the Tulingy language, and are so brave that they advance to battle with songs and dances; but their ardour does not last. The country is full of fastnesses and woods, almost impenetrable to troops. The princes of the house of Bahmuny maintained their superiority by valour only; for in power, wealth, and extent of country, the rajas of Beejanuggur greatly exceeded them, especially in the time of Mujahid Shah, when as yet the whole of the country of Tulingana had not fallen under the Bahmuny yoke. The sea-port of Goa, the fortress of Belgam, and other places, not included in

* The conviction on the mind of Ferishta is clear that the Rameswur mentioned by Moolla Dawood Bidury, and the authors from whom he compiled his history, was that opposite Ceylon. It is, however, certain, that Krishn Ray never possessed any territory beyond Mysore, and that at the period to which Ferishta alludes, a very powerful kingdom of the Tamool dynasty existed at Madura; but of which Ferishta does not appear to have been aware; nor that the people spoke neither Canarese nor Tulingy, but Tamool distinct from both. This is not surprising: he was a native of Persia, a stranger in India; and his information of the Hindoos in general, and of the geography of those parts not visited by Mahomedans, is extremely imperfect, and sometimes erroneous.

Carnatic Proper, belonged to the Ray of Beejanuggur; and many districts of Tul-Ghât * were in his possession. His country was well peopled, and the subjects submissive to his authority. The rays of Malabar, Ceylon, and other countries, kept ambassadors at his court, and sent annually rich presents. The ancestors of Krishn Ray had possessed this kingdom for seven hundred years; during which period, being undisturbed by revolutions, and sparing in expense, their treasures so accumulated as to equal those of all the kings of the earth. In the time of Alla-ood Deen Khiljy, the grandfather of Krishn Ray buried his treasures from religious motives, and a part of them fell into the hands of the chiefs of Alla-ood-Deen, at Seeta Bund Rameswur, where they were concealed.

Mujahid Shah, finding it impossible at present to reduce Beejanuggur, moved from its vicinity with his captives, amounting to between sixty and seventy thousand persons, mostly women; as, in conformity with the engagements of his father, he had refrained from slaughter after the heat of battle had subsided. As his troops were lying before Adony, the King marched to that fortress, which he besieged for nine months. A scarcity of water had nearly reduced the garrison to submit, when a heavy rain falling, their distress was relieved, and they continued to hold out. At this time a want of grain prevailed in the royal camp, and great numbers were carried off by fluxes, and other

* Tul-Ghât—the country below the mountains, on the sea-coast, called Concan.

complaints of the bowels, so that the army in general were despondent, and began to demand loudly to be led back to their own country.

Mullik Seif ood-Deen Ghoory, hearing at Koolburga of the unpromising state of affairs, petitioned the King for leave to join him with his division, expressing a great desire to see the fortress of Adony, of which he had heard so much. The King consented to his request. After reconnoitring the fortress, he observed to the King in private, that the conquest of such a place, having fifteen forts communicating with each other,* was not to be hoped for in a short time; and that the forts between the rivers from Goa to Belgam and Bunkapoor should first be taken. Mujahid Shah accordingly consented to retreat; and Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory having effected a peace between him and the Ray of Beejanuggur, the King moved towards his own dominions, sending the minister on before him to Koolburga.

When the royal army had crossed the Toongbudra, and arrived near the fortress of Moodkul, the King, with some favourites, the companions of his pleasures, went to take the diversion of hunting, attended only by four hundred cavalry. Among the number were Dawood Khan, Sufdur Khan Seestany, and Azim Hoomayoon. It was the King's habit, after hunting all day, to pass the night whereever he was overtaken by darkness.

* It is many years since the translator visited Adony; and although he did not examine it minutely, it appeared one of the most formidable and extensive of the several hill-forts in India.

Dawood Khan, who could not brook the reprimand given him at Beejanuggur for quitting his post, and having also a design on the throne, secretly plotted the King's assassination. In this plot Khan Mahomed and Musaood Khan were also engaged; the former of whom had not forgotten the circumstance of his removal from the government of Dowlutabad, and the preference shown to his rival Azim Hoomayoon, and Musaood sought revenge for the death of his father Moobarik, spice-bearer to the late King. These conspirators watched impatiently for an opportunity to execute their design; although such was the vigilance of Sufdur Khan and Azim Hoomayoon, that as yet none had offered. But as the pen of Providence had signed the decree, Mujahid Shah one day dismissed his two faithful officers, against their own wishes, to their governments, and moved with his remaining attendants towards his capital. Arriving on the banks of a river, he halted to amuse himself with fishing; but being suddenly seized with a pain in his eyes, which proved to be ophthalmy, he retired to repose in a tent guarded by the conspirators.

About midnight Dawood Khan, leaving Khan Mahomed and his followers to watch without, entered the tent with Musaood Khan and two other persons. The King was fast asleep, and an Abyssinian slave only was present, employed in rubbing his feet. The slave, startled, shouted aloud on seeing Dawood Khan with a naked dagger in his hand. The King arose, but could not open his eyes, it being the nature of the disorder to close them together. Dawood Khan rushed upon him,

and plunged the dagger into his body. The King, in agony, seized the hand in which the assassin held the fatal instrument, and struggled with him. The slave, though unarmed, seized Musaood Khan, who struck him dead with one blow of his sabre; and inflicted another on the King with such effect, that he expired immediately.

Fortune erects palaces for the body,
And then hurls it from the throne to the grave.
The world has beheld numerous scenes like this:
It was not the first instance of treachery which time has witnessed:
Fate places a crown of gold on the head of one,
And another she consigns to the silent tomb.

Dawood Khan, having left the body of his murdered nephew and sovereign, went out of the tent, and on the same day required the nobility and officers present to acknowledge him as sovereign. He was, in fact, heir presumptive to the crown, Mujahid Shah having no children. The nobles assented reluctantly, and were rewarded with honours and gratuities, according to custom. In the morning Dawood Khan despatched his nephew's body to Koolburga; and, after halting two or three days, proceeded to that capital himself, in great state, attended by the army.

The death of Mujahid Shah happened after a reign of not quite three years, on the night of the 17th of Zeehuj, 779. Hajy Mahomed Kandahary states, that he received his death-wound from the son of Moobarik the spice-bearer:—but God only knows the truth.

Zeehuj 17.
A. H. 779.
April 14.
A. D. 1378.

DAWOOD SHAH BAHMUNY.

Disaffection prevails among the military chiefs—some withdraw with their divisions to their governments.—Mullik Seif-ood-Deen endeavours to reconcile the people to receive Dawood Shah.—Seif-ood-Deen is permitted to withdraw from public life.—The late King's sister refuses to be reconciled to her uncle Dawood Shah, and eventually procures him to be assassinated in the mosque at prayers.

THE historians of the Deccan relate, that when the news of Mujahid Shah's assassination was spread abroad dissension arose in every quarter. Sufdur Khan and Azim Hoomayoon, who had reached Beejapoor, uniting, repaired to Koolburga; and having seen the murdered King's body, retired towards Elichpoor and Dowlutabad, carrying with them the royal elephants and horses which were in Beejapoor. At the same time, they wrote to Dawood Shah that they were only retiring to their districts to refresh their troops, and should wait his gracious orders with impatience; stating, that whenever he might require them to repair to his presence, they would hasten to court without delay. The army of the Ray of Beejanuggur, upon intelligence of this event, made great rejoicings; and overrunning the country as far as the Krishna, sat down before the fortress of Rachore. The inhabitants of Koolburga were divided into two parties; the one espousing the cause of

Dawood Shah, and the other that of Mahmood, the youngest son of Alla-ood-Deen Hussun Gungoo, who had been kept in confinement, in the citadel, since the accession of Mujahid Shah.

The minister, Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory, observed, that factions would only occasion the ruin of the state, and recommended that since Dawood Shah, the King's nearest relative had already placed the crown on his head, it was prudent to acknowledge him and avoid a civil war. The influence of Mullik Seif-ood-Deen, the first minister, and the prop of the house of Bahmuny, had great weight with the officers and people of the capital, who agreed to follow his advice, as did also all the ladies of the haram, excepting only the sister of the late king, grand-daughter, by the mother's side, of the minister himself. This lady rebuked her father, and called on him to revenge his grandson's death.

Mullik Seif-ood-Deen, having read the Khootba in the name of Dawood Shah, went to meet him, attended by all the nobles, the divines, and respectable persons, on his approach to Koolburga, by whom he was conducted in great state to the city, where he ascended the Tukht-i-Feroza. At the request of the minister, the King permitted that venerable chief to retire from office, and, assuming the direction of affairs, was obeyed by all the nobility, so that his authority seemed fully established. The sister of Mujahid Shah, Roohpurwur Agha however, still refused to acknowledge him ; and though Dawood Shah used every means to conciliate her, she remained obdurate to all his overtures. As she had great influence in the haram,

of which she was regarded as the head since the death of Mahomed Shah, the King did not venture to treat her otherwise than with deference and respect. At length, this Princess prevailed on a young man who had stood high in the esteem and favour of Mujahid Shah to revenge the blood of his patron at the risk of his own life.

Mohurrum 21. A. H. 780. May 19. A. D. 1378.

On the 21st of Mohurrum, 780, Dawood Shah, when going to offer his devotions at the great mosque of Koolburga, attended by Khan Mahomed, was followed by the assassin; who, placing himself immediately behind him, took advantage of the moment of the King's being prostrate in prayer to draw his sabre; and before the attendants were aware of his design, he wounded him so severely that he died almost instantaneously. Khan Mahomed, seeing the transaction, did not permit the murderer to escape, but with one stroke of his sabre separated his head from his body.—Dawood Shah reigned only one month and five days.

MAHMOOD SHAH BAHMUNY I.

Spirited conduct of the Princess Roohpurwur Agha—causes Mahomed Sunjur, the son of the late Dawood Shah, to be blinded, and raises Mahmood, the youngest son of Hussun Gungoo, to the throne.—Mullik Seif-ood-Deen resumes his office of minister.—The King is congratulated by the Raja of Beejanuggur—encourages literature—invites the celebrated poet Hafiz, from Persia, to his court—the cause of his not coming.—Hafiz's ode on the occasion.—Improvements in the civil department of the King's government.—Insurrection in Sagur—is put down by Yoosoof Toork.—The King's death.

On the death of Dawood Shah, Khan Mahomed resolved to place on the throne Mahomed Sunjur, the late King's son, then in his ninth year. For this purpose, having collected his dependents, he repaired to the palace. Roohpurwur Agha, being informed of his design, shut the gates, vowing that the son of a traitor who had assassinated his sovereign and her brother should not be King while she had life. At the same time she proclaimed Mahmood, the youngest son of Alla-ood-Deen Shah, heir to the throne. As Mahomed Sunjur was in the palace, and in the power of the Princess, Khan Mahomed was at a loss how to act; and going to the house of Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory, he endeavoured to prevail on him to join his party, but received for answer, that as Mahomed Sunjur and the Prince Mahmood were both in the hands of Roohpurwur Agha, he

thought it advisable, in order to avoid contentions to leave the choice of a king in her hands. Khan Mahomed, aware that the nobles and the people, both Mahomedans and Hindoos, would be guided by the advice of Mullik Seif-ood-Deen, submitted to his wishes, and accompanied him to the palace. The Princess, having caused Mahomed Sunjur to be blinded, to prevent all future attempts in his favour, she, with the concurrence of the ministers and principal officers, placed Mahmood on the throne.

Mahmood Shah was naturally of a disposition humane, virtuous, and just, and his judgment in all affairs of state was usually correct. In the beginning of his reign he caused Khan Mahomed to be confined in the fort of Sagur, regarding him as a promoter of the late seditions; and that chief died not long after in prison. He also commanded Musaood, one of those persons accessary to the murder of Mujahid Shah, to be executed. Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory was prevailed on, after much entreaty, to accept the office of prime minister, and governor of the capital; and the King engaged in no affairs without his advice. This measure proved fortunate; for during his reign no disturbances occurred in the kingdom, nor did any relaxation take place in the energy of the government.

After the coronation, Bahadur Khan, Sufdur Khan, and Azim Hoomayoon,* hastened to the

* The three governors of the northern provinces, Dowlutabad, Mahoor, and Kowlas.

capital, where they pledged their allegiance, and made suitable offerings of congratulation; while the Ray of Beejanuggur, having raised the siege of Rachore, agreed to pay to Mahmood the tribute stipulated in the reign of Mahomed Shah Ghazy.

Mahmood Shah had a taste for poetry, and wrote some elegant verses. He also spoke the Persian and Arabic languages fluently. He was neither too much elated with prosperity, nor did he allow grief to overwhelm him in the hour of misfortune or disappointment. He never cohabited but with one wife, and paid great regard to the opinions of divines, in whose company he delighted. During his reign the poets of Arabia and Persia resorted to the Deccan, and partook of his liberality. Meer Feiz Oolla Anjoo, who presided on the seat of justice, once presenting the King with an ode, received a thousand pieces of gold, and was permitted to retire to his own country loaded with wealth and distinction. The fame of the King's taste, his affability, and munificence, spread so widely, that the celebrated poet of Shiraz, Khwaja Hafiz, determined to visit the Deccan, but was prevented, by a train of accidents, which are thus related.

Meer Feiz Oolla Anjoo sent to this famous poet a present from the King, and a letter from himself, promising, if he would come to Koolburga he should be handsomely rewarded, and have safe conduct back to Shiraz. Hafiz, from these kind assurances, consented; and having disposed of the articles sent him among his relations and creditors, quitted Shiraz and arrived safely at Lar, where he assisted a friend who had been

robbed with part of his ready money. From Lar he was accompanied to Ormus by Khwaja Zein-ool-Abid-Deen Hamdany and Khwaja Mahomed Kaziroony, who were also going to visit Hindoostan. With these persons he took shipping in one of the royal vessels, which had arrived at Ormus from the Deccan; but it had scarcely weighed anchor when a gale of wind arose, and the ship was in danger, and returned to port. Hafiz suffered so much during the storm, that he insisted on being put ashore, and abandoned his voyage. Having written the following verses, he delivered them to his companions to be given to Feiz Oolla Anjoo, after which he returned to Shiraz:—

1.

Can all the gold the world bestows,
Though poured by Fortune's bounteous hand,
Repay me for the joys I lose,
The breezes of my native land?

2.

My friends exclaimed, "Oh, stay at home,
"Nor quit this once-beloved spot:
"What folly tempts thee thus to roam —
"To quit Shiraz—desert thy cot?

3.

"Yon royal court will ill repay,
"Though all its gorgeous wealth be given,
"The blessings which you cast away,
"Health and content, the gifts of heaven."

4.

The glare of gems confused my sight—
The ocean's roar I ne'er had heard;
But now that I can feel aright,
I freely own how I have erred.

5.

Though splendid promises were made,
How could I such a dotard prove,
How could I leave my natal glade,
Its wines, and all the friends I love?

6.

Hafiz abjures the royal court—
Let him but have content and health;
For what to him can gold import,
Who scorns the paths of worldly wealth?

When Feiz Oolla received this poem, he read it to the King, who was much pleased; and observed, that as Hafiz had set out with the intention of visiting him, he felt it incumbent not to leave him without proofs of his liberality. He therefore entrusted a thousand pieces of gold to Mahomed Kasim Meshidy, one of the learned men at Koolburga, to purchase whatsoever, among the productions of India, was likely to prove most acceptable, in order to send them to the poet at Shiraz.

Mahmood Shah, while a youth, was fond of gaudy apparel; but upon his accession to the throne he always wore plain white robes. He frequently observed, that Kings were only trustees of the state, and that it was a breach of trust to expend more on themselves than necessity required. A famine occurring during his reign, he employed ten thousand bullocks at his private expense constantly going to and from Malwa and Guzerat for grain, which was distributed to the people at a cheap rate. He established orphan schools at the cities of Koolburga, Bidur, Kand'har Elichpur,

Dowlutabad, Choul, Dabul, and in some other great towns, with ample foundations for their support. He appointed stipends for the expounders of the scriptures, and gave monthly charity to the blind throughout his dominions. He paid great attention to Sheikh Siraj-ood-Deen, visited him in his last illness, and after his death, going often to his tomb, offered up prayers, and gave alms to the poor pilgrims who resorted to it.

The King, preferring the blessings of peace to engaging in war, allowed his reign to pass in tranquillity; and from his great wisdom the Deccanies gave him the title of Aristole. During a period of nineteen years, nine months and twenty-four days, only one disturbance occurred, which was quelled in a few months. The circumstance was as follows:—

One Baha-ood-Deen, a native of Dowlutabad, of low origin, was appointed to the command of the fortress of Sagur; and his two sons, Mahomed and Khwaja, were honoured with the King's confidence, and eventually raised to the rank of nobles, and attained so much power, that they excited the envy of rivals, who traduced them to the King, who was accordingly deceived; and the brothers, alarmed for their safety, went into rebellion, and fled to Sagur with a thousand followers. The father, misguided by his sons, identified himself with them; and levying troops, defeated the royal army sent against him on two occasions, and acquired much booty, which added to his power.

On the third Mahmood Shah despatched

Yoosoof Ajdur, a Toorky officer,* with a powerful army, who lay before Sagur for two months; during which time the rebels made several desperate sallies One day, in particular, the elder brother Mahomed, with four hundred brave companions, charged the rear of the royal camp with great success, till he was wounded in the hand by an officer, surnamed Kalapahr, whom he in turn disabled; and although his troops fled, he refused to quit his horse. Baha-ood-Deen coming to the assistance of his son, renewed the action till night, when darkness favoured their retreat The two brothers, contrary to their custom, however, passed this night imprudently on the edge of the ditch without the fort. A part of the garrison which was in league with the royalists took this opportunity of informing Yoosoof Ajdur of the circumstance, and offered to admit his men by a wicket, and put to death the chief insurgent, Baha-ood-Deen. Yoosoof Toork, having procured a number of volunteers for the service, sent them to the fort; telling them, that if the head of Baha-ood-Deen should be delivered to them by the garrison, they might venture to enter and occupy it; otherwise, to desist and return to camp. At the hour and place appointed, the party within threw over their chief's head, and the King's troops entering the fort made themselves masters of it. At the same time, by a preconcerted signal, the

* The word in the original is Gholam-i-Toork, a purchased Toork; but these slaves have always, among the Mahomedans been raised to the highest offices, and, in many instances, have established themselves in new kingdoms.

brothers were attacked by the royalists without, and they died fighting desperately. This was the first and last time in which the sword of punishment was drawn from the scabbard during the reign of Mahmood Shah.

The King, not long after this victory, on the 21st of Rujub, 799, died of a putrid fever; and on the following day, Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory, the faithful adherent of the house of Bahmuny, after a life of one hundred and seven years, most of which was devoted to the service of this family, died also. He was buried agreeably to his will in the court of the tomb of Sooltan Alla-ood-Deen Hussun Gungoo Bahmuny, and over his grave was laid a terrace of stone.

Rujub 21. A. H. 799. April 20. A. D. 1397.

It is recorded, that Mahmood Shah was a strict promoter of the law of the Koran, permitting no neglect on the smallest point, which occasioned the judges to take cognisance of all deviations in points of morality. One day a woman convicted of adultery was brought to the court of justice to receive sentence; when the judge, asking her how she came to be guilty of so heinous a crime, she replied, "How could I think, O judge! that the "act was unlawful? seeing that one man may have "four wives, why might not I, also, indulge with "equal propriety in four husbands? If I am in "error, I repent, and will not offend by a repeti- "tion of the crime." The judge was perplexed, and suffered her to escape only with a reproof.— Mahmood Shah Bahmuny reigned nineteen years, nine months, and twenty-four days.

GHEIAS-OOD-DEEN SHAH BAHMUNY.

Gheias-ood-Deen ascends his father's throne—gives offence to Lallcheen, one of the slaves of his household—becomes enamoured of his daughter—is invited to an entertainment at Lallcheen's house—has his eyes pierced out—is dethroned, and is confined in the fort of Sagur.

When the Deccan was deprived of the virtuous and just Mahmood Shah, his eldest son, Gheias-ood-Deen, ascended the throne in his seventeenth year. In conformity with the practice of his father, he behaved graciously to all the members of his court, and remembering the old servants and supporters of his family, treated them with favour and kindness. Intelligence of the death of Sufdur Khan Seestany arriving at this time, the King conferred upon his son, Sulabut Khan, the title of Mujlis Ally, together with his offices and estates, and despatched him to Berar. Ahmud Beg Kuzveeny, Peshwa* to Mahomed Khan, son of Azim Hoomayoon, was exalted to the office of Meer Nobut (commander of the guards), and the King displayed great attention towards him. This conduct excited the jealousy of Lallcheen, one of

*This Persian title for prime minister originated in this reign; it was subsequently conferred on the ministers of the kings of Ahmudnuggur, and from them the rajas of Sattara adopted it.

the principal Toorky slaves of the household, who had not only aspired to the dignity of prime minister himself, but desired to obtain the office of Meer Nobut for his son Hussun Khan. Disappointed in these views, he evinced his discontent, and was reproved by the King, who often observed in his presence, that it was highly injudicious to prefer slaves to offices over the heads of men of family, many of whom were descendants of the Prophet, and for his own part he regretted that he had ever departed in this respect from the rule of his ancestors.

Lallcheen treasured up these remarks in his mind, and secretly meditated revenge, though he did not show his mortification openly. This chief had a daughter of exquisite beauty, as celebrated for her wit, as for her skill in music, whom the King was desirous of possessing, and made private overtures to obtain her. Her father, discovering his partiality, invited the young King to an entertainment, and the latter hoped that on this occasion Lallcheen would present his daughter to him. After having entertained his royal guest with much splendour, and while exhilarated with wine, Lallcheen requested the King to command his followers to withdraw, making signs from which the former augured favourably. Eager to possess the slave's beautiful daughter, and immersed in the ocean of excess, the King imprudently commanded his attendants to quit the room. Lallcheen, leaving only one eunuch with wine in the apartment, went in the direction of his haram, and shortly after returned with a

naked dagger in his hand. The King, though much intoxicated, attempted to resist, but, unable to walk steadily, he fell, and rolled down a flight of steps, when Lallcheen, seizing him by the hair, with the aid of the eunuch, threw the King on his back, and pierced out his eyes with the point of his dagger. After which, sending for the royal attendants one by one, as if by the King's order, he put them to death as they entered, to the number of twenty-four persons, most of whom were men of rank; so that no one remained of sufficient power to oppose the murderer's future designs. Lallcheen placed Shums-ood-Deen, the late King's brother, on the throne, and sent the latter in confinement to the fortress of Sagur. This event happened on the 17th of Rumzan, in the year 799, after Gheias-ood-Deen had reigned only one month and twenty days.

Rumzan 17.
A. H. 799.
June 9.
A. D. 1396.

SHUMS-OOD-DEEN BAHMUNY.

Is elevated to the throne of his brother by Lallcheen.—Plot of his cousins, Feroze Khan and Ahmud Khan, against his government—they fly to Sagur, and collect troops—march to the capital, and are repulsed—retire to Sagur—make overtures, and are pardoned—are received at court.—The brothers obtain partisans at the capital—they seize the King, and deprive him of sight.—Lallcheen is taken, and given over to Gheias-ood-Deen, who, though blind, puts him to death with his own hands.

SHUMS-OOD-DEEN ascended the throne in his fifteenth year, and, intimidated by the fate of his predecessor, was content with the mere name of king. Lallcheen received the title of Mullik Naib ;* and the nobility, who had escaped the sword, seeing no safety but in submission, bowed to his authority. The Queen-mother, herself originally a slave, paid the utmost deference to Lallcheen, chiefly from her anxiety for her son's safety. She advised him to adopt every measure recommended by the minister, to whom, she observed, the King owed his crown ; and she entreated him not to listen to any malicious suggestions which might be made against his benefactor. Lallcheen, on his part, behaved to the Queen-mother with

* This title, conferring the fullest power, is equivalent to regent, or protector.

much respect, frequently sending her valuable presents, and using every means to secure her confidence and favour.

Dawood Shah Bahmuny left behind him three sons, Mahomed Sunjur, (blinded by order of the Princess Roohpurwur Agha, as has been before related,) Feroze Khan, and Ahmud Khan. The two last (by the same mother) were at the time of their father's death between six and seven years of age. Their uncle, Mahmood Shah, had treated them with parental tenderness, and educated them in a manner becoming their rank, taking care to have them accomplished in all military exercises, under the preceptorship of Meer Feiz Oolla Anjoo Shirazy. Mahmood Shah, having no son at that time, gave to each of the princes one of his daughters in marriage, and would sometimes say, that Feroze should be his successor. He frequently seated him by his side on the throne, and declared that none of his house was more deserving, or likely to add greater lustre to it. When the Almighty blessed Mahmood with sons, he appointed the eldest, Gheias-ood-Deen, his successor, and conjured Feroze Khan and Ahmud Khan, on his death-bed, to be loyal and obedient to him. They accordingly served him with submission and fidelity.

Gheias-ood-Deen Shah being deposed and blinded by Lallcheen, his sisters instigated their husbands to revenge his death; but Lallcheen discovering their intentions, complained to the King, and accused them of treason, hoping, by this means, to excite his fears, and obtain an

order for their death. Shums-ood-Deen Shah being deaf to his insinuations, Lallcheen represented the circumstances to the Queen-mother; and observed, that if she did not get rid of the brothers, her son would be dethroned, and she, who was suspected of an attachment to his person, would be exposed to the utmost danger. These arguments had more effect on the Queen than her son, who was at length induced to consent to the seizure of his cousins. They, however, obtained intelligence of the design, and escaped from Koolburga to the fortress of Sagur.

Suddoo, a slave of the royal family, commanded in Sagur. He was rich and powerful, and received the Princes with open arms, omitting nothing to evince his attachment to them. On the next day, Ahmud Khan and Feroze Khan addressed a letter to Shums-ood-Deen Shah, as also other letters to the principal nobility, stating, that their design was only to expel Lallcheen, whose treachery to the late king, and whose other numerous crimes, which had cast dishonour on the royal family, were known to all. They demanded, therefore, that he should be punished, after which, the Princes promised to pay due submission to the authority of Shums-ood-Deen Shah: declaring, till this object were obtained, they would use every means in their power to effect his destruction.

Shums-ood-Deen Shah, consulting his mother and Lallcheen, sent back an answer which served only to inflame the Princes, who, with the assistance of the commander of Sagur, having collected three thousand horse and foot, and with the

full confidence that other troops would join them from the capital, marched towards Koolburga. Disappointed in this expectation, they halted for some time on the banks of the Beema, without being aided by any chief of consequence. It was, however, agreed, that the Princes should advance with the regal canopy carried over the head of Feroze Khan. On this occasion his brother Ahmud Khan was raised to the rank of Ameer-ool-Omra, Suddoo to that of Meer Nobut, and Meer Feiz Oolla Anjoo to the office of Vakeel, or minister.

On the arrival of the Princes within four coss* of the city, Lallcheen distributed great sums of money to the officers and troops, and marched out with Shums-ood-Deen Shah to oppose them. A severe engagement took place in the vicinity of the town of Merkole, and the brothers, being defeated, fled with their adherents to Sagur. The power and presumption of the Queen-mother and Lallcheen at length grew to such a height, that many of the officers of the court privately offered their services to the brothers, whom they advised to procure pardon from Shums-ood-Deen Shah, and repair to Koolburga, in order to concert plans, at leisure, for forwarding their views.

Feroze Khan, relying on these assurances, sent Meer Feiz Oolla Anjoo and Syud Kumal-ood-Deen, with other respectable persons, to the Queen and Lallcheen, representing that fear only had occasioned their rebellion, of which they now sincerely repented; and promising, if the King would

* Eight miles.

send them letters of pardon, to repair to court. The Queen-mother and Lallcheen, well pleased at these overtures, sent the letter required, replete with flattering assurances of forgiveness.

Soon after the arrival of these communication, the two brothers were sitting on a terrace, and consulting whether or not they might venture to go to Koolburga, when a Kashmeerian madman passed by and exclaimed, "I am come, O Feroze "of happy auspices, to conduct thee to Koolburga, "and to make thee King." Regarding this as a happy omen, they proceeded immediately to Koolburga; where they received dresses and gift from the King. But Lallcheen and Feroze Khan were, from the first moment, suspicious of each other, and continued on their guard.

About a fortnight after their arrival, on Thursday the 23d of Suffur, in the year 800 Feroze Khan came into the durbar, attended by twelve silehdars* devoted to his interest, and about three hundred of his other followers at the same time obtained admittance into the fort, one or two at a time. He then sent for his brother Ahmud Khan, upon whose arrival he told Lallcheen, that some of their relatives were come from their estate, in order to pay their respects to the King, and he requested that orders might be given to the porters to admit whomsoever he should send for.

Suffur 23. A. H. 800. Nov. 15. A. D. 1397.

Feroze Khan taking care to occupy Lallcheen's attention in conversation, his brother went out on

* This term is explained in a note, p. 299.

pretence of introducing his relatives; but in attempting to pass with twelve persons at once he was stopped by the guards, and fancying that the plot was discovered, he resolved to run all hazards, and to attack those on duty. The sentries being overpowered, Ahmud Khan rushed into the durbar, where no opposition was made but by Lallcheen's sons; the rest of the assembly instantly fled. Shums-ood-Deen Shah and his minister hid themselves in a subterraneous apartment; and the three hundred adherents of Foroze Khan, as had been preconcerted, attacked and put to flight the dependents of Lallcheen in the courts of the palace; so that the plan succeeded according to design.

Feroze Khan having put chains on the King and Lallcheen, confined them in the apartment to which they had fled for shelter, while himself, accompanied by the nobility, repaired to the hall of audience, and ascended the Tukht-i-Feroza, thus fulfilling the prediction of the Kashmeerain; and having assumed the title of Feroze Shah Roze Afzoon, begirt himself with the sword of Alla-ood-Deen Hussun Gungoo. Having now established his authority, he deprived the late king of his eyes, and confined him in the fortress of Bidur. At the same time sending for Gheias-ood-Deen from his prison at Sagur, he gave over Lallcheen to his resentment. That Prince, though quite blind, having ordered Lallcheen to be placed before him, slew him with one stroke of his sabre. He then entreated Feroze Shah to allow him to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca; which request being acceded to, he sailed from Choul, and arrived

in safety at the holy city; where he resided till his death, which occurred many years after. During his lifetime, Feroze made him a liberal allowance of five thousand golden ashruffies,* and sent him annually rich clothes.

The reign of Shums-ood-Deen only lasted five months and seven days.

* An ashruffy, like the gold mohr of modern times, varied from thirty to forty shillings in value.

FEROZE SHAH BAHMUNY.*

The character of Feroze.—Feiz Oolla Anjoo created minister.—The southern provinces invaded by Dew Ray, Raja of Beejanuggur.—Berar invaded by Nursing Ray of Kehrla.—The King marches to the south, and compels the Raja of Beejanuggur to pay him 440,000l. for the expense of the war.—The King marches north to Berar.—The Raja of Kehrla defeated.—The King deputes an embassy to Teimoor (Tamerlane), who confers on Feroze the sovereignty over Malwa and Guzerat.—Secret negotiations by the kings of Malwa and Guzerat at the court of Beejanuggur.—War renewed with Beejanuggur.—Beejanuggur invested.—The country ravaged by the Mahomedans.—Bunkapoor reduced.—The Raja gives his daughter to Feroze, and makes peace.—Feroze takes Pangul.—War renewed.—The subversion of the Mahomedan kingdom is threatened.—The Hindoos are eventually defeated by the King's brother Ahmud.—Feroze's intellect becomes impaired—his imbecile conduct.—The King's brother Ahmud aims at possessing the throne—his endeavours to effect that object, and his eventual success.—Death of Feroze Shah Bahmuny.

FROM various historians we learn, that Feroze Shah excelled his predecessors in power and magnificence, and that in his reign the house of Bahmuny attained its greatest splendour. He compelled the Ray of Beejanuggur to give him his daughter in marriage, though contrary to the custom of the Hindoos, who marry only in their own cast.

* He is entitled Sooltan Abool Moozuffur, Ghazy, Feroze Shah, Roze Afzoon. (The Sovereign Lord of Victory, the holy Warrior, King Feroze, whose prosperity increases daily.)

Neither did he fail to promote the true faith, having made four-and-twenty glorious campaigns, by the success of which he greatly enlarged his dominions. He took the fort of Bunkapoor, and subjected the greater part of Tulingana to the yoke of Islam. He was the first of the Deccan kings who wore a crown set with jewels in the form of a turban. He prided himself much on his liberality (one of the chief virtues of kings), and acquired thereby great reputation. He was guilty of no offences against the doctrines of religion but that of drinking wine and listening to music. He fasted often, and regularly observed the prescribed ceremonies of the holy law. He would often express contrition for his two bad propensities, but said, that as music elevated his soul to the contemplation of the Deity, and as he did not drink wine so as to affect his reason, he hoped he should obtain pardon hereafter from a merciful God.

He was much addicted to women, and he consulted, therefore, the holy men in what way he might gratify his passions without infringing the law, which allowed only of four wives. Some said that he might divorce one and marry another, as often as he pleased, but this opinion being unsatisfactory, the point was referred to Meer Feiz Oolla Anjoo his minister. Feiz Oolla observed, that in the time of the Prophet and the first Caliph, the Moottea* was allowed; and though abrogated in the reign of the second Caliph, it was still legal, according to the tenets of the Sheeas. The Soonees denied the orthodoxy of this doctrine; and

*A temporary marriage.

much debate took place among the learned in consequence. All the various commentaries were now consulted in favour of the opinions of each party, till at length the King, being convinced by the reasoning of the Sheeas, received into his haram three hundred females in one day. According to Hajy Mahomed Kandahary, Feroze Shah made a point of copying sixteen pages of the Koran every fourth day, after which he engaged in public business. He generally spent his time till midnight in the company of divines, poets, reciters of history, readers of the Shah Nama, and the most learned and witty among his courtiers. In this assembly he laid aside all restraint; observing, that when he sat on the throne to transact business he was a sovereign, and necessarily obliged to assume state, in order to make a due impression on the minds of the people, so that the authority of government' might be supported; but that in their company he regarded himself as a private individual, and wished to be treated without form or ceremony. He desired that all the members of these parties might come in or go out at will; that each person might call for what he chose to eat and drink, and speak freely on all subjects but two, which he forbade being introduced; the first regarded affairs of state, and the second slander of an absent person.

Moolla Isaac Surhindy, a man of great learning and wit, observed one day to the King, that his desiring his attendants to wave ceremony towards him on these occasions was contrary to the practice of all other kings; the truth of which he illustrated by relating an anecdote of a circumstance which

happened between Ameer Subooktugeen Ghiznevy and the philosopher and astrologer Anwury. The King, having heard the story, smiled, and observed, that such conduct could only proceed from princes void of justice, and that he hoped such weakness was not in his disposition. Those who frequented the King's assemblies had ample experience how far he excelled most princes in the uniformity of his behaviour and the consistency of his conduct.

Many curious anecdotes are related of Feroze Shah by Moolla Dawood Bidury, the introduction of which here would only occasion prolixity, and perhaps cause my being accused of departing from truth; so that I shall not give them to my readers. But as that of Subooktugeen and the philosopher Anwury has been mentioned, it may be proper to give the story in the words of Mollah Dawood.

"It is related that the philosopher Anwury, one "of the wonders of his age, performed many sur- "prising deeds. On account of his great learning, "and the condescension used towards him by the "King, he was permitted to indulge in a degree of "freedom which in the end grew displeasing. One "day while Subooktugeen was sitting on the terrace "of a lofty building in the palace of Ghizny, An- "wury entered the gate. The King commanded "him to foretell by which route he would next "quit the palace. Anwury, immediately fixing "his astrolabe, took an observation of the heavenly "bodies, and having finished it, wrote the result "on a piece of paper, and placed it under a pil- "low. Subooktugeen gave orders for part of the

"eastern wall of the palace to be thrown down, "and went out. On examining the paper, it ap- "peared Anwury had anticipated what the King "had done. Subooktugeen, enraged at the philo- "sopher's success, ordered him in his passion to be "cast headlong from the turret of the palace. "Luckily a net received Anwury, who escaped "without injury. The King then asked him if "he had foreseen this? to which the philosopher "replied he had; and calling for his book, pointed "out a prediction that he should, upon such a day, "fall from a high place, and escape unhurt. This "displeased the King still more, and he ordered "him to be confined. Six months afterwards, while "the philosopher was still in prison, one of his "slaves going to the market was told by a di- "viner, that from certain omens he perceived in "his aspect much good fortune, which he would "foretell him for a certain sum. The slave gave "what was demanded; on which the diviner told "him that he had a master in distress, who in a few "days would be delivered from his troubles, and "receive a dress of honour. The slave ran and con- "gratulated his master, who reproved him for his "credulity, and for going into such bad company. "Three days after, it happened that Hussun My- "mundy took an opportunity, upon the King's con- "versing with him on astrology, to mention the "unfortunate Anwury, lamenting, that instead "of rewards and honours for his two surprising "predictions he has been doomed to a gloomy "dungeon. The King replied, that certainly "Anwury was unrivalled in science, but men

" of learning should know mankind better; for, he
" observed, kings are like children, and must be
" flattered to be pleased. After these remarks, he
" commanded Anwury to be released. On his
" way from prison to the court, Anwury met the di-
" viner, and was constrained to confess, that other
" persons besides philosophers could sometimes
" foretell events. The King honoured Anwury
" with a dress, a thousand pieces of silver, a horse,
" and a male and female slave; at the same time
" expressing his concern for what had happened."

Feroze Shah, every year, despatched vessels from the ports of Goa and Choul to procure the manufactures and curious productions of all quarters of the world, but particularly to invite to his court persons celebrated for their talents; whom, he would frequently observe, should be regarded as the choicest productions of all countries. He used to say that kings should draw around them the most learned and meritorious persons of all nations, so that from their society they might obtain information, and thus reap some of the advantages acquired by travelling into distant rigions of the globe. The King had so excellent a memory that he could converse in many languages; a practice he exercised, as far as practicable, towards foreigners. It was sufficient to hear a circumstance once related to enable him to retain it in mind ever after. He was a good poet, and often made extempore verses. He was well acquainted with several sciences, and particularly fond of natural philosophy. On Saturdays, Mondays, and Thursdays, he heard lectures on botany, geometry, and logic, generally in the day, but if business

interfered, at night. It is said, that he even excelled Mahomed Toghluk in literary attainments.

He was the first king of the Deccan who intermarried with the Syuds of Anjoo; having taken a daughter of that family for his son Hussun Khan, and given one of his own daughters in marriage to Meer Shums-ood-Deen Mahomed Anjoo, whom he appointed governor of Dowlutabad.

Feroze Shah built a town on the banks of the Beema, which he called Ferozabad. The streets were laid out with regularity, and were very broad. Near the river was erected a citadel of stone, divided into a number of splendid courts, detached from each other, all plentifully supplied with water conducted by an ample canal from the river. Each of these courts he committed to one of his favourite ladies; and to avoid confusion and irregularity among his women, he framed rules for his haram, which were strictly observed during his life.

In the female apartments, he allowed no more than three attendants to one lady, who were always of the same nation, and spoke the same language as their mistress. Merchants were constantly employed to purchase females of all nations, from amongst whom he made selections to supply the vacancies occasioned by death or other causes among his mistresses or their servants. In his haram were Arabians, Circassians. Georgians, Toorks, Russians,* Europeans, Chinese, Afghans, Rajpoots, Bengalees, Guzeraties, Tulinganies, Maharattins, and others; and he could converse

*Ferishta, in the sixteenth century, considers the Russians as distinct from Europeans.

with each in her own language. He divided his attention so equally among them, that each lady fancied herself most beloved by the King. He read the Taurat and Anjeel,* and respected the tenets of all religions; but he admired that part of the faith of Mahomed above all others, which commanded the concealment of women from the eyes of strangers, and which forbade the use of wine. Feroze Shah, on ascending the throne, appointed his brother Ahmud Khan Ameer-ool-Omra, with the title of Khan Khanan, and he raised Meer Feiz Oolla Anjoo, his preceptor, to the office of Vakeel-oos-Sultunut, with the title of Mullik Naib; honours were also conferred on many of the family of Bahmuny. Historians unitedly agree, that he made twenty-four campaigns against the Hindoos; but the particulars of a few only are related by Moolla Dawood Bidury, in the Tohfut-oos-Sulateen.

A. H. 801.
A. D. 1398.

In the year 801, Dew Ray of Beejanuggur, with thirty thousand horse, and a vast army of foot, invaded the territories of the Dooab,† with a design to reduce the forts of Moodkul and Rachore. Feroze Shah, having intelligence of his motions, moved from Koolburga to Sagur, where he reviewed his army. After this, he put to death a zemindar, with seven or eight thousand Hindoos, who had long been very refractory. The Dowlutabad and Berar divisions of the army joined him at Sagur; and he was preparing to move against Dew Ray,

* The Old and New Testaments.

† The country lying between the Krishna and Toongbudra rivers.

when suddenly advice was brought that Nursing Ray, Raja of Kehrla, at the instigation of the kings of Mando and Aseer,* as also by the advice of the Raja of Beejanuggur, had invaded the province of Berar, and committed every excess on the Mussulman territory as far as the walls of Mahoor. On receipt of this intelligence, the King sent back the Dowlutabad division to oppose Nursing Ray, and marched with the remainder of his troops against Dew Ray of Beejanuggur.

It being the rainy season, and the river Krishna full, Dew Ray had pitched his camp on the south bank, and stationed large bodies of infantry along the shore, to oppose the passage of the Mahomedans. Feroze, on his arrival near the river, held a council of war, but received no advice that appeared satisfactory to him. While thus perplexed how to act, one Kazy Siraj offered, if the King would permit him, to cross the river with a few volunteers selected for the purpose, and assassinate Dew Ray or his son, as he found it most convenient; proposing, that when the alarm consequent on such an exploit should throw the enemy's camp into confusion, a party should be sent across the river, and secure a passage for the whole army.

Feroze approving of the project, some hundreds of baskets,† covered with leather, were

* The Mahomedan kings of Malwa and Kandeish.

† The same sort of basket-boats used in the Tigris in the time of Herodotus are still employed there, and are almost the only description of passage-boats known in the Indian peninsula at this day to the natives of the country.

A detachment of the British army crossed its heavy guns,

expeditiously prepared for the troops to cross. Kazy Siraj, with seven of his friends disguised as mendicants, proceeded to the Ray's camp, and repaired to the quarter where the dancing girls resided. Here the Kazy pretended to be enraptured with a courtesan, and was guilty of a thousand extravagancies in order to support his character. In the evening, the girl, having dressed herself in her richest ornaments, prepared to go out; on which the Kazy, like a jealous and distracted lover, falling at her feet, entreated her to stay, or let him attend her, and not break his heart by her absence. The woman informed him, that she was ordered to attend an entertainment on that evening, given by the Ray's son, and durst not disobey, nor could she take him with her, as only musicians and dancers would be admitted. The Kazy replied, that he played on the same instrument as herself, and had, beside, some curious accomplishments that would amuse the Ray's son. The dancing girl, thinking him in jest, gave him her mundul,* by way of joke, and desired him to play; which he did in so masterly a manner, that she was much pleased, and permitted him and his companions to attend her party to the tents of the young Ray, in the evening.

As is the custom of the Deccan, many sets of dancing girls were ordered to perform at the

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without even dismounting them, over the Toongbudra, in 1812, in these basket-boats.

* A musical instrument.

same time, when having finished, the Ray's son called for the male jugglers and buffoons. The dancing girl now obtained leave for the Kazy and one of his companions to show their feats. Having assumed the dress of females, they entered ogling and smiling, at the same time dancing and playing on the mundul. They acted their part so well, that the Ray's son was highly gratified. At length they each drew a dagger, and, as is usual among the dancers of the Deccan,* continued to flourish them for some time in several different attitudes, advancing, retreating, and turning round. At last, suddenly rushing on the Ray's son, they plunged both the daggers into his breast, and afterwards attacked his attendants and companions. The Kazy's friends, in the meanwhile, who were watching outside, on hearing the alarm, ripped open the tent, and entered to assist him. Many of the company, being much intoxicated, were put to death without resistance, while the Kazy with his associates having extinguished the lights, made their escape and mingled with the crowd. The outcry soon became general: great confusion prevailed throughout the camp, and reports and alarms were various. Some saying that the Mahomedan King had crossed the river and surprised the camp, others, that one of his chiefs, with twelve thousand men, had cut off both the Raja and his son. The night was uncommonly dark, and

* The dexterity with which the Tulingy females use the double-edged claymore, one in each hand, while waltzing rapidly to the sound of music, is a subject of admiration to all Europeans who have ever witnessed it.

the camp extended nearly ten miles, so that the different chiefs, ignorant of the real state of affairs, contented themselves with remaining at their several posts, under arms, waiting for the daylight. Meanwhile, about four thousand of Feroze Shah's troops crossed the river in boats and rafts, which had been previously prepared for the purpose, and the enemy's infantry, stationed to oppose the passage, panic-struck, by the alarm in the camp, and at the approach of the King's forces at the same time, fled in confusion without making opposition. Before morning Feroze Shah had crossed the river, and at dawn entered the enemy's camp. Dew Ray, overwhelmed with grief at the death of his son, made no efforts at resistance; but having taken up the corpse fled from the field. Feroze Shah obtained immense booty in the camp, and pursued the Hindoos to the vicinity of Beejanuggur; on the road to which place several actions occurred, in all of which the Moslems were successful, so that the highways became strewed with the bodies of the enemy.

Dew Ray having shut himself up in the fort of Beejanuggur, and no enemy remaining in the field, Feroze Shah detached Khan Khanan and Meer Fuzl Oolla to lay waste the districts south of the city, which were populous and flourishing. Kazy Siraj, in reward for his heroic exploit, was raised to the rank of a noble, and was sent with the army in advance. This division having fulfilled the King's intentions, and having taken many captives, returned to camp. As great numbers of bramins had fallen into the hands of the Moslems,

their friends at Beejanuggur came forward to assist the Ray with large sums of money to obtain a peace, and to ransom the captives. Dew Ray accepted their offers; and after much negotiation, Meer Fuzl Oolla agreed to accept ten lacks of hoons* for the royal treasury as a ransom for the prisoners, and one lack† for himself as negotiator.‡ Accordingly the bramins sent six lacks, and Dew Ray five, all of which Meer Fuzl Oolla laid before the King, who greatly commended his valuable services. A treaty was then concluded, by which it was agreed that the boundaries of both kingdoms should remain the same as before the war, and that one party should not molest the subjects of the other. Feroze Shah released his prisoners, and began his march to his own dominions. When he passed the Toongbudra, he directed Folad Khan to assume charge of the Doab; and leaving the army to follow, hastened with a few attendants to Koolburga.

A. H. 802.
A. D. 1399.

A few months after the conclusion of this campaign, in the beginning of the year 802, the King marched to punish Nursing Ray, the Raja of Kehrla. Upon

* The hoon varies from three and a half to four rupees. Eight shillings sterling may be taken as a fair average, which would make the sum amount to 400,000*l*.

† 40,000*l*.

‡ The practice of negotiators receiving a tithe of the sum paid to the state seems to have generally prevailed in the conclusion of most of the treaties on record in India. The sum was openly mentioned in the body of the instrument, and seemed to be deemed a fair reward to the successful diplomatist.

his arrival at Mahoor, Feroze found the native chiefs of that district, out of apprehension of Nursing Ray, had consented to acknowledge that Raja's authority. On the present occasion, therefore, they obtained pardon at the intercession of some of the nobility, made large offerings, and joined the army. The King halted one month and five days at Mahoor, and then proceeded towards Kehrla. Nursing Ray, who had great wealth and power, being possessed of all the hills of Gondwana, and other countries, sent rich presents to the kings of Malwa and Kandeish, entreating their assistance; but though they had on former occasion furnished him with aid, yet, as they in reality wished his destruction, they on the present occasion declined joining his cause. Notwithstanding this circumstance, Nursing Ray resolved to engage the King, and marching two coss from Kehrla, assembled his troops and waited for his approach.

Feroze Shah was anxious to lead the army in person; but Khan Khanan and Meer Fuzl Oolla Anjoo having requested to be allowed to conduct the enterprise, he gave his consent. They opened the war by addressing a letter to Nursing Ray, reminding him of his late conduct, and advising him to compromise matters by consenting to pay tribute: but his reply was couched in threats of defiance, and he made greater preparations for war. Khan Khanan and Meer Fuzl Oolla, now advancing attacked his lines, which brought on a severe conflict, in which Shoojat Khan, Dilawur Khan,

and Bahadur Khan, Mahomedan officers of rank, suffered martyrdom, and the infidels charging furiously, the troops of Islam were broken. At this instant it was reported to Meer Fuzl Oolla that Khan Khanan was slain. He directed his informant to keep the news secret; and himself advancing with two hundred horse, caused the drum of victory to be beaten, giving out, that the King was coming to their assistance. The troops, on this information, rallied and repulsed the enemy. Meer Fuzl Oolla was soon after joined by Khan Khanan, supposed to be slain; and now, in their turn, attacking the Hindoos, the Mahomedans put them to flight, and took prisoner Gopal Ray, the son of Nursing Ray. The fugitives were closely pursued to Kehrla, leaving upwards of ten thousand slain on the field, while Nursing Ray, having with much difficulty gained the fortress, was besieged by the victorious army.

At the end of two months, the garrison, being reduced to great distress, offered terms; but received for answer from the generals that they had no power to accede to any proposal, but that of unconditional surrender. Nursing Ray, seeing no other alternative, went with his family to the King's camp at Elichpoor, where expressing contrition for his conduct, and acknowledging himself the King's vassal, offered even to give up Kehrla itself; but he hoped his Majesty, after receiving his submission, would admit him among the number of his tributaries, and overlook past events; in consideration of which he promised to

pay every year the tribute fixed by Alla-ood-Deen Hussun Gungoo.

Feroze Shah, becoming reconciled to Nursing Ray, gave him a dress of honour, richly embroidered with gold; and receiving one of his daughters into his haram, together with a present of forty-five elephants, a considerable sum of money, and other valuables, he directed the siege of Kehrla to be discontinued. On the junction of Khan Khanan and Meer Fuzl Oolla's divisions, Nursing Ray was permitted to proceed home, and the King returned in triumph to Koolburga. As this victory was chiefly owing to the exertions of Meer Fuzl Oolla, that nobleman was promoted to the command of the Berar army.

A. H. 804.
A. D 1401.

In the year 804, repeated accounts coming from the court of Ameer Teimoor of that conqueror having conferred the throne of Dehly on one of his sons, with orders to subdue all the kingdoms of Hindoostan, and that he had resolved to march in person, to support his designs, if necessary, Feroze Shah sent ambassadors to the Tartar chief with rich presents, and a letter expressive of his respects. Teimoor received the ambassadors graciously, and accepted the presents. The ambassadors also represented, that Feroze Shah Bahmuny was desirous to be numbered among his dependents, and would, whenever Teimoor should either march in person, or send one of the princes to conquer Hindoostan, hasten from the Deccan to co-operate with his troops. Teimoor, pleased at these gratuitous offers

of aid, was prevailed on, through the agency of some of his courtiers, to confer the sovereignty of Malwa and Guzerat on Feroze Shah, with permission to use the canopy, and all other insignia of royalty; and at the end of six months, Teimoor delivered to the ambassadors a firman, containing the formal cession of the countries in question, together with a sword set with jewels, from his own side, a royal robe, a Toorky slave, and four Syrian horses, superior in beauty to any before seen in the Deccan. The kings of Guzerat, Malwa, and Kandeish,* whose power was yet weak, alarmed at the encroachments of Feroze Shah, sent ambassadors to court his friendship; observing, that, as Mahomedans, they ought to live together like brothers, and unite in alliance against the power of the Emperor of Dehly. At the same time, they privately wrote to the Ray of Beejanuggur, that whenever he should need their assistance against Feroze Shah to inform them, that they might lend him all the support in their power. In consequence of these overtures, the Ray of Beejanuggur changed his conduct towards the King, and neglected to pay his tribute for four years; and Feroze Shah, knowing the secret enmity of his neighbours, the kings of Guzerat and Malwa, did

* The embassy to Teimoor, with its result, which became known to the kings of Malwa and Kandeish, at once explained to them Feroze Shah's views; and the attack on a place so remote from Koolburga as Kehrla tended to confirm the opinion then entertained of his ambitious designs. It appeared quite natural, therefore, that the kings of the north should open negotiations for a defensive alliance with the Raja of Beejanuggur, who had it always in his power to create a diversion in their favour.

not press him, but passing over his neglect for the present, resolved to punish it at some future convenient time.

It happened that in the town of Moodkul lived a goldsmith, who had a daughter named Nehal, of such exquisite beauty, that nature seemed to have exerted all her art to render her perfect. Agreeably to the custom of Hindoostan, her parents wished to betroth her in childhood to a youth of her own caste; but she requested that the ceremony might be delayed, with such earnestness, that it was put off. Some time after, an old bramin, who had been on a pilgrimage to Benares, stopping on his return at her father's house, was struck with the beauty of his daughter, adopted her as his child, and resolved to render her skilful in music and dancing, of which he was a perfect master. The bramin continued nearly eighteen months with her family: at the end of which period, finding her fully accomplished, he took his leave, with a promise shortly to return, with proposals calculated for the honour of his pupil, and the advantage of her family. The bramin, who had from the first designed to exalt his adopted daughter to the station of a princess, proceeded to Beejanuggur; and being introduced to the Ray, spoke in such praise of the maid, that he resolved to possess her, and entreated the bramin to solicit her in marriage. The request had been anticipated by the bramin, and he accordingly agreed to assist him in the attainment of his wishes; on which, the Ray despatched him with rich gifts to the parents, and offered to bestow the title of Rany, or Princess, on their beautiful daughter. The bramin lost no

time in his journey; and on his arrival at the goldsmith's house delivered to him and his wife the Ray's orders that they should repair with their child to Beejanuggur. They were overjoyed at such unexpected good fortune; and calling the maid, laid before her the rich gifts of the Ray, congratulated her on being so soon to be united to a great prince, and attempted to throw upon her neck a golden necklace set with jewels as the token of betrothal, and which, if done, the engagement could not have been broken off. The daughter, to the astonishment of her parents, refused to receive the necklace; observing, that whoever entered the haram of Beejanuggur was never afterwards permitted to see even her nearest relatives; and though they might be willing to sacrifice her for the wealth of the court, yet she was too fond of her parents to submit to an eternal separation from them, even for the splendour of the palace of Beejanuggur. This affectionate declaration, accompanied with tears, reconciled her parents to their disappointed hopes, who, rather than use force, dismissed the bramin with all his gifts,—and he returned to Beejanuggur without success. The maiden, subsequently, revealed to her parents, that she had long had an inward conviction that she should one day become the wife of a prince of the faith of Islam, and recommended them to await patiently the will of Providence.

When the bramin arrived at Beejanuggur, and related to the Ray the failure of his mission, the Prince became outrageous; and he resolved to

gratify his passion even by force, though the object resided in the midst of Feroze Shah's dominions. For this purpose, quitting Beejanuggur with his army, on pretence of making the tour of his territories, he halted on the banks of the river Toongbudra; where having selected five thousand of his best horse, he commanded them, in spite of the remonstrances of his officers, to march night and day with all expedition to Moodkul, and surrounding the village where the goldsmith lived, to bring his daughter prisoner, with her whole family, but without doing them any injury.

As the Ray had, in the excess of his ardour, lost his judgment, he neglected to send the bramin to prevent the parents of the female from being alarmed at the approach of his troops, and to induce them to remain in the place, should there be time sufficient to allow the other inhabitants to escape. It so happened, that the country around Moodkul being apprised of the approach of the Beejanuggur troops, the inhabitants, among whom was Nehal's family, fled to distant parts. The troops of Dew Ray accordingly failed in obtaining their expected prize, and returned with expedition, laying waste on their route several towns and villages, before the local troops could be collected to oppose them. At length Folad Khan, governor of the province, marched against them, and the plunderers, seeing themselves greatly superior to him in numbers, stopped to engage, and obliged him to retire. Being, however, quickly reinforced, he pursued them a second time; and the invaders, not dreaming of being followed by a

beaten enemy, had become so careless in their retreat, that they were surprised and completely defeated, with the loss of two thousand men, before they were able to recross the Toongbudra. Feroze Shah, on hearing of this unprovoked invasion, immediately issued orders for assembling his army near Ferozabad. In the beginning of the year 809, he moved in great force, and arrived near Beejanuggur without opposition; in which place Dew Ray had shut himself up. An assault was made upon the city, and the King got possession of some of the streets, but was opposed with great resolution, and eventually repulsed by the Carnatic infantry. Dew Ray, encouraged by this success, ventured to encamp his army outside the town, under protection of the walls, and to attack the besiegers' camp with light troops. As the Moslems could not make use of their cavalry, owing to the unevenness of the ground around Beejanuggur, they suffered severely from the garrison, and became dispirited. On one occasion Feroze Shah was wounded by an arrow in the hand; but refusing to dismount from his charger, he drew out the weapon, and bound up the wound with a cloth. The enemy was at last driven off, owing to the good conduct of the King's brother, Ahmud Khan, Khan Khanan; and the King moved his camp farther from the city to a convenient plain where he halted till his wounded men were recovered. Here, laying aside the design of taking the city, he detached a body of ten thousand horse under his brother, Khan Khanan, and Meean Suddoh

A. H. 809.
A. D. 1406.

(Meer-Nobut), to lay waste the country on the south of Beejanuggur, and detached Meer Fuzl Oolla Anjoo, with the Berar division, to besiege Bunkapoor, the most important fortress in the Carnatic. The King, with the remainder of his army, continued in the environs of Beejanuggur, in order to amuse Dew Ray, and fortified his camp with a circle of gun carriages. Dew Ray more than once attacked him, but was always repulsed with great slaughter. The Ray now desisted from his attacks, but despatched ambassadors to solicit aid from the kings of Malwa, Kandeish, and Guzerat.

The King continued to engage Dew Ray for four months; during which time, Khan Khanan laid waste the most flourishing towns and districts of the Carnatic; and Meer Fuzl Oolla succeeded in taking the fortress of Bunkapoor, with its valuable dependencies; the government of which he committed, by the King's orders, to Meean Suddoh, who was co-operating with that direction, while he himself returned to the royal camp. Khan Khanan also joined the army of the King with about sixty thousand Hindoo captives, male and female, besides a rich booty in gold. Feroze Shah received these officers with the favour due to their services, and made a splendid festival in honour of their successes, on which occasion he concerted a plan for further operations. After some debate it was resolved, that Khan Khanan should remain opposed to Dew Ray at Beejanuggur, while the King, accompanied by Meer Fuzl Oolla, should march to besiege Adony, the strongest fortress then in possession of the enemy.

Dew Ray, not obtaining assistance from the kings of Malwa, Kandeish, and Guzerat, was plunged into despair, when he heard of the King's intentions, and he accordingly sent some of his chiefs to treat for peace at the royal camp. Feroze Shah at first refused to listen to any terms; but at length, being moved by the advice and entreaties of Meer Fuzl Oolla, he consented to the following conditions; viz. That the Ray should give him his daughter in marriage; that he should pay ten lacks of hoons, and present five muns of pearls, fifty choice elephants, and two thousand male and female slaves, singers, dancers, and musicians; also, that the fort of Bunkapoor, already in his possession, should, in order to obviate all future disputes, be ceded to him for ever, as the marriage-portion of the Beejanuggur Princess.

Though the Rays of the Carnatic had never before given their daughters in marriage to any persons but those of their own caste, and deemed it degrading to intermarry with strangers, yet Dew Ray, out of necessity, complied; and preparations for celebrating the nuptials were made by both parties.* For forty days communication was open

* The Hindoo princes must have been reduced to the lowest state of humiliation to give their daughters to Mahomedans. State policy, however, on the part of the Hindoos, compelled them to submit; while the effect of the practice, though only adopted for the gratification of the basest passions on the part of the Moslems, was calculated to reconcile them to the Hindoos, and tended, in a great measure, to soften down that acrimonious hatred which belonged to both parties previously to forming these connections.

between the city and the King's camp, a distance of fourteen miles. Either side of the road was lined with booths both of Mahomedans and Hindoos; while the jugglers, dancers, and buffoons of the Carnatic, displayed their skill to amuse passengers. Khan Khanan and Meer Fuzl Oolla were deputed, in great state, to Beejanuggur, with the customary presents of a bridegroom; from whence, at the expiration of seven days, they brought the bride, with a rich portion and offerings from the Ray, to the King's camp. Dew Ray having expressed a desire to meet his son-in-law, Feroze Shah, in the excess of his politeness, consented to pay his father-in-law a visit, attended by his bride.

A day being fixed, the King proceeded with the bride to Beejanuggur, leaving the camp in charge of Khan Khanan. He was met on the road by Dew Ray in great state. From the gate of the city to the palace, being a distance of nearly six miles, the road was spread with cloths of gold, velvet, satin, and other rich stuffs. The two monarchs rode on horseback together, between ranks of beautiful boys and girls, who waved over their heads plates of gold full of incense and silver flowers, which they scattered abroad, to be gathered by the populace. This ceremony being over, the inhabitants of the city, both men and women, made offerings according to their rank. After passing through a square in the centre of the city, the relatives of Dew Ray, who had lined the streets, made their obeisance, and joined the cavalcade, marching on foot before the two Kings. On

their arrival at the palace gate, Feroze Shah and the Raja dismounted from their horses, and ascending a splendid litter, set with valuable jewels, were carried together to the apartments prepared for the reception of the bride and bridegroom. Dew Ray then took his leave, and retired to his own apartments. The King, after being feasted magnificently for three days, took leave of the Ray, who pressed upon him richer presents than he had before given, and attended him four miles on his way to his camp, before he returned to the city. Feroze Shah was offended, however, at his not going with him to his camp, and said to Meer Fuzl Oolla that he would one day have revenge for the affront offered him by such neglect. This remark being conveyed to Dew Ray, he made use of some offensive observations, so that, notwithstanding the union of the two families, their enmity was not allayed. Feroze Shah, having returned to the capital of his dominions, despatched persons to bring the beautiful daughter of the goldsmith and his family to court, on whose account the war had originated. Her beauty was found to surpass all that had been reported of it; and the King, conceiving that he was too old to espouse her himself, conferred her in marriage on his son Hussun Khan, and gratified her parents with rich gifts and grants of land in their native country. The lady, meanwhile, was committed to the care of the King's aunt till the nuptial preparations were ready, when the knot was tied amid great rejoicings and princely festivals.

A. H. 810. A. D. 1407 Feroze Shah, being a great encourager of astronomy, caused an observatory to be built in the year 810, on the summit of the pass near Dowlutabad; but this work being interrupted by the death of Hakeem Hussun Geelany, the astronomer, it was left unfinished.*

A. H. 815. A. D. 1412. In the year 815, the King went, on pretence of hunting, into the country of Gondwara, which he laid waste, and brought away near three hundred elephants. Soon afterwards, hearing that the celebrated saint Syud Mahomed Geesoo-duraz had arrived near Koolburga, from Dehly, he went from Ferozabad to visit him, and sent all the nobility of the court to meet him. He was at first treated with much attention; but on the King finding him deficient in learning and science, he withdrew his favour. Khan Khanan, the King's brother, entertained the highest veneration for the Syud, and not only built a superb palace for him, but spent great part of his time in attending his lectures. Khan Khanan was never absent from his "wujd," or ecstasies, at which times he distributed large sums to the attendants of the durgah,† and to dervishes.

A. H. 818. A. D. 1415. In the year 818, the King having fixed on his son Hussun, a weak and dissipated Prince, to succeed him, conferred on him a royal cap and waistband, with a

* The ruins of this work are still to be seen; but the present inhabitants have no notion of the object for which it was intended.

† Durgah is a convent, or dwelling-place of holy men.

chutr or canopy, several royal pavilions, and some elephants, the emblems of sovereignty. At this time, also, he invited the nobles to acknowledge him as his successor, and requested the holy Syud to give him his blessing; but the saint answered, that to one chosen by the King the prayers of a poor beggar could be of no avail. Feroze Shah, dissatisfied with his reply, sent to him again; on which the Syud observed, that as the crown was decreed to descend to his brother Khan Khanan, by the will of Providence, it was in vain for him to bestow it on another. The King was much alarmed, and ordered the Syud to quit the city; pretending that his durgah was too near the palace, and that the crowds of his disciples and students were dangerous to the peace of the capital. The holy man immediately obeyed, and retired out of the town to the spot where his tomb now stands; and his followers soon erected for him a magnificent dwelling.*

A. H. 820. A. D. 1417. In the year 820, the King despatched ambassadors to the Ray of Tulingana, demanding some years' arrears of tribute, who sent the sums due, with several valuable presents in addition. In the middle of this year, Feroze Shah formed the design of reducing the fortress of Pangul, now called Bilcondah, situated about eighty fursungs (two hundred and

* The tomb of this holy personage, now standing, was either rebuilt or constructed in the year A. D. 1640, by Mahomed Ameen Hoosseiny, a descendant of the celebrated Syud Mahomed Geesoo-duraz (or Long Locks), in the reign of Mahomed Adil Shah, King of Beejapoor.

forty miles) from Adony.* Without regarding his relationship to the Ray of Beejanuggur, he marched and commenced the siege, which extended to two whole years; at the end of which time, it not being the will of Heaven that it should then fall, a pestilence broke out in the royal army, in which, men and horses died every day in great numbers. Discontent and fear filled the minds of the survivors; and many officers of the first rank, quitting the camp with their followers, retired to their estates. At this crisis, Dew Ray, having collected his army, and having obtained assistance from all the surrounding princes, including the Raja of Tulingana, marched against the King, with a vast host of horse and foot.

Feroze Shah, though he judged his army unequal to oppose the Hindoos, yet, impelled by a sense of pride, gave battle in spite of the remonstrances of his officers. Meer Fuzl Oolla, who commanded the troops of Islam, charged the infidels with great valour, and routing their centre, fell upon their right wing, and was on the point of obtaining the victory, when one of his own attendants, said to be bribed for the purpose by Dew Ray, inflicted a severe wound on his head, of which he instantly died. This fatal event changed the fortune of the day: the King was defeated; and with the utmost difficulty, and not without very great efforts on his part, effected his escape from the field. The Hindoos made a general

* Pangul, at present, has no other name, and is not more than seventy miles from Adony.

massacre of the Mussulmans, erected a platform with their heads on the field of battle, and pursuing the King into his own country, laid it waste with fire and sword. They subsequently took many towns, broke down mosques and other holy places; slaughtered the people without mercy; and by their savage conduct seemed desirous to discharge the vengeance and resentment of many ages. Feroze Shah, in the exigence of his distress, requested aid of the King of Guzerat, who having but just ascended the throne could afford none. At last fortune took a turn more favourable to his affairs; and the enemy, after repeated battles, were expelled from his dominions by the King's brother, Khan Khanan. But these misfortunes dwelt on the mind of Feroze Shah, now old, and he fell into a lingering disorder, which affected his spirits and his intellect.

During his illness, he gave the reins of government into the hands of two of his slaves,—one named Hooshyar, and the other Bedar;* strengthening their influence with the whole weight of his authority. These ministers, jealous of the popularity and ambition of Khan Khanan, remarked to the King, that the government of the Deccan could only be secured to his son Hussun Khan when the kingdom should be cleared of the power and influence of Khan Khanan. Feroze Shah, recollecting the prediction of Syud Mahomed Geesoo-duraz, determined, by causing his brother to be blinded, to prevent the possibility of his

* Both names imply vigilance.

ascending the throne. Khan Khanan, informed of this design, prepared for flight. During the night, he went with his son, Alla-ood-Deen, to the dwelling of the holy Syud, to request his advice and blessing; who taking the turban from his son Alla-ood-Deen's head, divided it into two parts, and tied one round the head of the father, and the other round his son, and then extending his hands over them, predicted sovereignty to both. Khan Khanan, after this ceremony, returned to his house; and having spent the remainder of the night in preparation for his departure, issued from the gates at dawn of day, with four hundred faithful companions. At the gate he was saluted with the title of King, by one of his earliest acquaintance, a celebrated merchant named Khulf Hussun, of Bussora, who had heard of his intentions.

Khan Khanan desired him to hasten to his own dwelling, lest he should be seen by the officers of the court, and suffer on his account. To this Hussun remarked, that to be a companion in the days of prosperity, and to cast the dust of inconstancy in the eyes of a friend in adversity, was unbecoming a virtuous man; that while he had a spark of life he should be loath to quit his patron; and he hoped he would receive him among the number of his servants, and permit him to perform some service of importance. Khan Khanan, pleased with these professions of attachment, consented to Khulf Hussun accompanying him; saying, that if he should ever attain the throne, Khulf Hussun should be his guide and minister. He then left the city, and in the evening arrived at Khan-

Khananpoor, the revenue of which town he vowed to assign to the use of the Syuds of Mecca and Medina, Nujuf and Kurbula, should he become king.

Hooshyar and Bedar, on learning the flight of Khan Khanan, went with anxious impatience to the King, and having obtained permission to go in pursuit, marched with expedition, attended by four thousand horse, and some war elephants. Khan Khanan proposed concealing himself till he could prevail on some of the nobility to support his cause; but his companion Khulf Hussun dissuading him, sent to Koolburga, Bidur, and Kulliany, from whence he procured a number of malecontents to join his standard. Some days passed in moving from place to place to avoid fighting, when, at last, the King's ministers being reinforced, all hope of escape seemed cut off, the royalists being eight thousand strong, and the whole force of Khan Khanan not exceeding one thousand cavalry. In this crisis, a band of grain merchants, called in Hindoostan Bunjaras,* who were on their way from Berar with two thousand head of oxen, encamped in the neighbourhood of Kulliany, as also three hundred horses, which some dealers had brought from Lahore for sale. Khulf Hussun, taking advantage of this incident, purchased them all, and making red and green banners, after the custom of the Deccan, mounted a man with a flag on each ox. He placed a few cavalry in front of this mock force, with orders

* For an account of this extraordinary but useful race of mercantile carriers, see Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, vol. i.

to appear at a distance, when the engagement should commence, and to give out, that some chiefs had arrived from their estates to assist Khan Khanan. Khan Khanan at first regarded the scheme as childish, but at last consented to adopt it. In the morning, he moved slowly towards the King's troops, encouraging his own men, by declaring that certain noblemen were hastening to join him, and were then only a few miles distant. Hooshyar and Bedar, also, dreading the event of his being reinforced, eagerly accepted the offer of battle, hoping by this means to prevent the junction of reinforcements. When the action had begun, Khulf Hussun advancing his horse in front of the oxen, and waving his banners, appeared marching from behind a wood at some distance, which made the enemy conclude that the expected chiefs were arrived to Khan Khanan's assistance; and a vigorous charge being made at the same instant, the right wing of the royalists broke in confusion. Hooshyar and Bedar, who were in the centre, seeing their men fly, and terrified at the approach of the supposed succours, were routed and driven from the field, after offering a slight opposition. Khan Khanan, thus unexpectedly victorious, pursued the fugitives, and after taking many elephants and horses, was shortly after joined by numbers of the royal troops from all quarters.

Notwithstanding the King's indisposition and weakness, he caused the royal canopy to be raised over the head of his son, the Prince Hussun Khan; and having intrusted the citadel to some faithful servants, put himself in a palankeen (being too

infirm to travel otherwise) at the head of many of the nobility, accompanied by four thousand horse, a vast number of foot, some artillery, and many elephants, to oppose his brother Khan Khanan. An engagement took place a few miles from the city. The part of the army in which was Feroze Shah being hardly pressed, a report prevailed that he was killed; on which the officers and soldiers came over in great numbers to the standard of Khan Khanan. Hooshyar and Bedar, alarmed at the great desertion, fled with the King towards the citadel, at the gates of which Feroze Shah recovered from a fainting fit into which he had been thrown from the alarm and fatigue.

Khan Khanan, out of respect, would not suffer the King to be pursued; but when he heard of his being in the fort, marched to the capital, and encamped under the walls of the citadel. Hooshyar and Bedar, together with the Prince Hussun Khan, manned the works, and began to repel the besiegers with shot and arrows. A ball entering the tent of Khan Khanan wounded some persons sitting near him, upon which he retreated to a greater distance. Feroze Shah, at length, calling his son Hussun Khan before him, observed, that empire depended on the attachment of the nobility and army; and as they had mostly declared for his uncle, he recommended him to refrain from farther opposition, which could only occasion public calamities. After which the King ordered the gates of the palace to be thrown open, and admitted Khan Khanan, with a number of his attendants. Khan Khanan approaching the King's bed, bowed his head on

his feet, when Feroze Shah expressed pleasure at seeing him, saying, that he praised God for permitting him to behold his brother as sovereign, of which high dignity he was truly deserving; that paternal affection had naturally made him wish his son for his successor, but as he was disappointed, he left his kingdom to God, and his son to his brother's care. Feroze then begged of Khan Khanan to ascend the throne, and take care of his person for the little time he might remain his guest. Khan Khanan,
Shuval 5. on the same day, being the 5th of
A. H. 825. Shuval, A. H. 825, put on the royal
Sept. 15. tiara, first assumed by his brother, and
A. D. 1422. ascending the throne Feroza, caused himself to be styled Ahmud Shah Bahmuny, commanding coins to be struck, and the Khootba to be read, in his name. Ten days after this event, on the 15th Shuval, Feroze Shah resigned
Shuval 15.
Sept. 25. his soul to the guardians of Paradise, and his body was deposited with great pomp and ceremony near the tombs of his ancestors. He reigned twenty-five years, seven months, and fifteen days.

According to tradition it is stated, and I have seen it in writing, that Ahmud Shah Bahmuny, at the instigation of his sister's son, Sheer Khan, caused his brother Feroze Shah to be strangled, —but God only can know the real truth.

AHMUD SHAH WULLY* BAHMUNY.

Ahmud Shah retains his predecessor's ministers—assigns to the late King's son a palace for his residence—collects an army of observation on his northern frontier, and marches south against Dew Ray, Raja of Beejanuggur. The Raja of Wurungole makes common cause with Dew Ray, but subsequently withdraws his army.—Dew Ray attacked by surprise—is taken prisoner, but effects his escape.—Ahmud Shah lays waste the territory of Beejanuggur.—A band of Hindoos vow to assassinate him—he is surrounded, and narrowly escapes with his life.—Grievous famine in the Deccan.—The King takes Wurungole, and slays the Raja.—A diamond mine discovered at Kullum.—The King of Malwa attacks the Raja of Kehrla, who applies for aid to Ahmud Shah Bahmuny.—War with the King of Malwa, in which the latter is defeated.—Peace concluded.—The King of Malwa renews the attack on Kehrla—the Raja is killed in action.—War renewed by Ahmud Shah.—Peace mediated by the Ruler of Kandeish.—The King dies.

AHMUD SHAH understood well the administration of civil and military affairs. Following the policy of his brother, he paid great deference to Syuds, and to all learned and holy men, neglecting nothing for their benefit and advantage. In the early part of his reign, on account of the predictions made by Syud Mahomed Geesoo-duraz, he showered favours on that venerable personage; and as the people generally follow the example of their King, the inhabitants of the Deccan chose him for their guide in religious

* He is, I believe, the only instance of a king of India bearing the title of Wully, or Saint.

affairs, so that his residence became a place of pilgrimage to all sects. The King withdrew his favour from the family of Sheikh Siraj-ood-Deen, and conferred it on that of the holy Syud, to whom he granted in perpetuity several towns, villages, and extensive lands near Koolburga, and built for him a magnificent college not far from the city; and in the present day, though the country has passed from the family of Bahmuny to that of the kings of Beejapoor, yet most of the estates given by the former princes are still in possession of the Syud's descendants. The people of the Deccan have such a respect for the saint, that a Deccany, on being once asked whom he considered the greatest personage, the Prophet Mahomed or the Syud, replied, with some surprise at the question, that although the Prophet was undoubtedly a great man, yet Syud Mahomed Geesoo-duraz was a far superior order of being.

From the moment Ahmud Shah ascended the throne, he turned all his attention to improve his army, in order to be revenged of the Ray of Beejanuggur for the invasions during the last reign. He appointed Khulf Hussun Vakeel-oos-Sultunut, with the rank of an officer of twelve hundred horse, and as he was a merchant, he also conferred on him the title of Mullik-oot-Toojar.* This title still prevails in the Deccan, where it is esteemed one of the most honourable that can be bestowed. Khulf Hussun, admiring the fidelity of the ministers of the late King, thought them worthy of his confidence,

* Mullik-oot-Toojar, literally, King, or Lord of the Merchants.

and interceded in their behalf; and the King, at his recommendation, honoured Hooshyar Ein-ool-Moolk with the title of Ameer-ool-Omra, conferring on him the rank of an officer of fifteen hundred horse;* and the government of Dowlutabad was given to Bedar Nizam-ool-Moolk, who was at the same time raised to the rank of two thousand. The highest order of nobility under the Bahmuny kings was confined to the dignity of commander of two thousand, into which were admitted only the turufdars, or governors of the four principal divisions of the kingdom. From this rank the grades were continued down as low as two hundred, but none of less rank were esteemed noble. An ameer of a thousand had the privilege of carrying the togha,† the alum (a banner), and drums, as insignia of his order.

The late King's son, Hussun Khan, though legal heir to the sovereignty of the Deccan, was (contrary to the opinions of the King's ministers, who

* This custom of giving military titles descriptive of the number of men commanded by each officer is of very old date in the East. In the Scriptures we read of captains of tens and of hundreds. The Romans even had their centurions. The Tartars had and have their yooz-bashies and meen-bashies, heads of a hundred, and heads of a thousand men. The Indian Mahomedans brought the custom with them, and extended it to leaders of five thousand men, which was the highest specific rank; beyond that, they were termed surlushkur, or commander.

† The togh, or togha, is a pennon made of the tail of the cow of Thibet. The custom came into India with the Tartars, who also carried it into the West, and it has become familiar to Europeans since the establishment of the Turkish government at Constantinople, in the shape of bashaws of one, two, or three tails, or toghs. The European togha is of horse-hair.

advised his being strictly confined or put to death,) appointed an ameer of five hundred; and the palace of Ferozabad was assigned to him for his residence, with an ample estate; permission was also granted for him to hunt or take his pleasure within eight miles round his palace, without being restricted as to time or ceremony. As this Prince was entirely devoted to his pleasures, he was more satisfied with the liberty of indulging in them than with the charge of the government. While his uncle lived, he enjoyed his ease, and no difference ever occurred between them; but he was afterwards blinded and kept confined to the palace of Ferozabad.

When Ahmud Shah had by his virtues impressed on the minds of his people an attachment to his government, he stationed a strong force on the northern frontier of his dominions, in the direction of Guzerat, to prevent invasions from that quarter, and then marched towards the Carnatic with forty thousand horse. Dew Ray, without delay, collected his troops; and inviting the Ray of Wurungole to come to his assistance, marched with a numerous army to the banks of the Toongbudra, in the hope of extirpating the Mahomedans.

Ahmud Shah, arriving on the opposite bank, surrounded his camp with carriages, according to the Turkish practice, to prevent the enemy's infantry from making night-attacks, and halted there for forty days; during which time his light troops laid waste all the country of Dew Ray on the north bank of the river. By these manœuvres the King hoped to tempt the Hindoos to cross the stream and give him battle on the ground

where he had taken post, which he regarded as advantageous, but all his efforts to this end failed. At length, weary of delay, the King called a council of war, and finding his officers unanimous for crossing the river, and attacking the enemy on their own ground, he resolved on doing so the next morning. It is proper to mention that the Ray of Wurungole had previously deserted his ally, and withdrawn his troops. Lody Khan, Adam Khan, and Dilawur Khan, marched during the night, and fording the river at a distance, reached the environs of the enemy's camp at day-light. The Ray was then sleeping, attended only by a few persons, in a garden, close to which was a thick plantation of sugar-cane. A body of the Mahomedans entered the garden for plunder, and Dew Ray, being alarmed, fled, almost naked as he was, into the sugar-cane plantation. Here he was found by the soldiers, who taking him for a villager, loaded him with a bundle of canes, and obliged him to run with it before them. Dew Ray, perceiving he was undiscovered, took up the burden readily, hoping that he should be released when he reached the enemy's camp, or be able to effect his escape.

They had not gone far, when an alarm spread through the camp of the Hindoos, that Ahmud Shah had crossed the river, and that the Ray was missing. The King entered the lines without opposition; and the soldiers who had taken Dew Ray, hoping to obtain more valuable plunder than sugar-cane, hastened to join their comrades,

leaving him to shift for himself. Dew Ray fled, unnoticed, and about noon came up with some of his officers, by whom he was recognised, and received with great joy. His army now began to re-assume some kind of order; but as he regarded the late accident as an ill omen, he laid aside all idea of engaging in the field, and fled to Beejanuggur.

Ahmud Shah, without waiting to besiege the Hindoo capital, overran the open country; and wherever he went put to death men, women, and children, without mercy, contrary to the compact made between his uncle and predecessor, Mahomed Shah, and the rays of Beejanuggur. Whenever the number of slain amounted to twenty thousand, he halted three days, and made a festival in celebration of the bloody event. He broke down, also, the idolatrous temples, and destroyed the colleges of the bramins. During these operations, a body of five thousand Hindoos, urged by desperation at the destruction of their religious buildings, and at the insults offered to their deities, united in taking an oath to sacrifice their lives in an attempt to kill the King, as the author of all their sufferings. For this purpose, they employed spies to observe his motions, that they might seize the first opportunity of accomplishing their end. It happened that Ahmud Shah while one day hunting, in the eagerness of the chase separated from his attendants, and advanced nearly twelve miles from his camp. The devoted infidels, informed of the circumstance, immediately hastened to intercept him, and arrived in sight of him when

even his personal attendants, about two hundred Moguls, were at some distance. The King, perceiving his enemies, galloped on in hopes of gaining a small mud inclosure, used as a fold for cattle, which stood on the plain; but he was so hotly pursued, that some broken ground intervening, he was unable to cross it before his pursuers came up. Luckily for the King, some of his archers arriving at this instant, the enemy were checked, and the King had time to reach the enclosure. The infidels attempted to enter, and a sharp conflict ensued: the faithful repeated the creed of Islam, and swore to die rather than submit. On this occasion, Syud Hussun Budukhshy, Meer Ally Seestany, Meer Ally Kabully, and Abdoolla Koord, distinguished themselves greatly, and became entitled to the King's lasting gratitude. The little band being mostly killed, or wounded, the assailants advanced close to the wall, which they began to break down with pickaxes and crowbars, so that the King was reduced to the last extremity of distress. At this critical juncture Abdool Kadur, the King's armour-bearer, made his appearance, with a body of troops, with whom he had left the camp in search of his master. The infidels by this time had effected a wide breach, and were fighting hand to hand, when they found their rear suddenly attacked. The King now sallied from his position with his retainers, and after a severe conflict defeated the enemy, with the loss of a thousand men. Of the Mahomedans about five hundred were slain. Thus Ahmud Shah, by the providential aid afforded by Abdool Kadur, was raised, as it were,

anew from the abyss of annihilation to the enjoyment of sovereignty. It is a remarkable coincidence, and worthy of observation, that both the Hindoo and Mahomedan sovereigns, at the head of armies opposed to each other, should fall into such danger during the same campaign, and that both should escape uninjured. Ahmud Shah, on his return to camp, raised Abdool Kadur to the rank of an officer of two thousand, and made him governor of Berar,—he also conferred on him the title of Khan Jehan; to which he added the appellations of life-bestowing brother, and faithful friend. Abdool Luteef, his brother, was also raised to the same rank, with the title of Azim Khan. All those persons who had any share in the King's deliverance were amply rewarded with titles and gifts. As the Mogul archers had been of great use on this occasion, he gave orders to Mullik-oot-Toojar to form a body of three thousand, composed of the natives of Irak, Khorassan, Mawur-ool-Nehr, Toorkistan, and Arabia, and commanded all his officers to exercise themselves, their children, and dependents, in archery.*

After this event, Ahmud Shah, having laid waste the whole country, marched to Beejanuggur, which he so closely blockaded, that the inhabitants were reduced to the utmost distress; when Dew Ray, in order to spare his people, sent ambassadors soliciting peace, which was acceded to. They required that the Raja should send to the King's camp the arrears of tribute due for many years,

* This passage strengthens my opinion, that neither guns nor musketry were used at this period.

laden on his best elephants, and conducted by his son, with his drums, trumpets, and all other insignia of state. Dew Ray, deeming it unsafe to refuse compliance, deputed his son with thirty elephants laden with the treasure. The King caused some chiefs to go forth to meet him; and after being led in ceremony through the market, and the principal streets of the camp, he was conducted to the presence. The King, after embracing, permitted him to sit at the foot of his throne, and throwing over his shoulders a magnificent mantle, and presenting him with a sabre set with jewels, gave him twenty beautiful horses of various countries, a male elephant, dogs for the chase, and a leash of hawks; to which last, the people of the Carnatic had been till then strangers. The army now marched from the vicinity of Beejanuggur; and on its arrival on the banks of the Krishna the Ray's son was dismissed, and the troops returned to Koolburga.

This year, no rain falling, a grievous famine was experienced throughout the Deccan; and multitudes of cattle died on the parched plains for want of water. The King, in consequence, increased the pay of his troops, and opened the public stores of grain for the use of the poor. The next year, also, there being no rain, the people became seditious, complaining that the present reign was unlucky, and the conduct of the Prince displeasing to God. The King was much afflicted, and repaired to the mosque in state to crave the mercy of heaven towards his subjects. His prayers were heard, and plentiful showers fell

shortly after: those who had abused him now became loud in his praise, calling him Wully (Saint), and worker of miracles. The King returned with joy and thanksgiving to his palace, amid the acclamations of his people, who condemned themselves for their rashness.

A.H. 828.
A.D. 1421.

In the year 828, the King, in order to punish the Ray of Wurungole for joining the Ray of Beejanuggur, marched into his country, with the intention of conquering Tulingana. On his arrival at Golconda, he sent an army before him under Khan Azim, and halted with the main body for twenty-seven days. During this time, he received accounts that Khan Azim, notwithstanding his small force, had defeated the enemy, killed seven thousand Hindoos, and obtained possession of Wurungole, the Ray having been slain in the action. The king moved to Wurungole, and took possession of those treasures, the accumulation of ages, which had till then been preserved from plunder. The King conferred on Khan Azim ten large and ten small elephants, a waistbelt set with jewels, four strings of fine pearls, and a large sum of money; after which he detached him to reduce the remainder of Tulingana, which he effected in the space of four months, and returned to join the King at Wurungole. Khan Azim was now left to reduce some strong posts in possession of the deceased Ray's heirs, while the King proceeded to Koolburga.

A. H. 829.
A. D. 1425.

In the year 829, Ahmud Shah marched to reduce a rebellious zemindar of Mahoor, who still retained

several strong places which held out against his troops. The rebel soon submitted; but Ahmud Shah, though he had assured him of pardon, put him to death in violation of his promise, as soon as he fell into his hands, together with five or six thousand of his followers, compelling, at the same time, all the captive women and children to embrace the true faith. During this campaign, the King obtained possession of a diamond mine at Kullum, a place dependent on Gondwara, in which territory he rased many idolatrous temples, and, erecting mosques on their sites, appropriated to each some tracts of land to maintain holy men, and to supply lamps and oil for religious purposes. At this time he remained nearly a year at Elichpoor, during which he constructed the fort of Gavul,* repaired the fortress of Narnala, and subsequently returned to Koolburga.

Sooltan Hooshung of Malwa, apprehensive of the approach of Ahmud Shah at this period, made proposals to Nursing Ray of Kehrla to enter into a confederacy against the Bahmuny monarch. The Ray not acceding to his proposal, Sooltan Hooshung twice invaded his country, but was repulsed with severe loss. In a third attack, however, he came so unexpectedly on Nursing Ray,

*The word construct should, perhaps, be rebuilt, or repaired. Had it been originally constructed by a Mahomedan prince, it would have received some other name; whereas that by which it is alone known sufficiently indicates not only its Hindoo origin but its antiquity, as belonging to the period of the *gavully* or pastoral kings; an account of whose dominion has been handed to us by tradition, but of whom no written accounts are to be found.

that, unable to collect his troops, he was obliged to remain within his fortress. On which occasion, in the year 830, Nursing Ray petitioned Ahmud Shah for assistance; observing, that from the day of his having submitted to become tributary to Feroze Shah Bahmuny he had not deviated from the path of obedience; that he was considered by all the neighbouring states as tributary to his house; on which account, he trusted the King would not refuse his aid on the present occasion. Ahmud Shah, accordingly, directed Khan Jehan, governor of Berar, to march to the succour of Nursing Ray, and himself moved with seven thousand horse to Elichpoor, to be ready, if necessary, to support him. Sooltan Hooshung of Malwa, supposing that the King's absence from his army arose out of fear, advanced to Kehrla, and plundering the surrounding country, was pleased to throw out taunting allusions on the subject of Ahmud Shah's inactivity; in consequence of which, the latter marched rapidly to relieve Kehrla.

A. H. 830.
A. D. 1426.

At this time, some holy men represented to Ahmud Shah, that none of his ancestors had ever assisted infidels against true believers; that it was contrary to the doctrines of the faith to do so, and should be avoided. The King, though within forty miles of the enemy's camp, was forcibly struck with these remonstrances, and immediately halted, writing, at the same time, to Sooltan Hooshung, that Nursing Ray being one of his dependents, it would be the means of promoting mutual friendship, if Sooltan Hooshung should desist from attacking

him and return to his own country. He also observed, that in consequence of the remonstrances of the holy men about his person, he was about to proceed to his own capital; and he began his retreat before the messenger had even arrived in the enemy's camp. Sooltan Hooshung treated with contempt the communication of Ahmud Shah: and aware of his own superiority in numerical strength followed him so closely that he encamped daily on the ground the Deccanies had left in the morning. Ahmud Shah, roused by this conduct, told the holy men, that he thought he had already sufficiently shown his desire to regard the doctrines of the faith. Accordingly, having ordered his baggage to precede the army, he halted, and made disposition for battle. The command of his right wing was entrusted to Khan Jehan, and that of the left to Abdoolla Khan, grandson of Ismael Futteh Khan; and the Prince Alla-ood-Deen was placed in the centre. The King in person, with two thousand chosen horse and twelve war-elephants, took post in ambush, to wait for the enemy.

Sooltan Hooshung, unaware of these preparations, and being as yet unopposed, concluded the Deccanies were still flying before him; he therefore advanced without any regard to order, and came up suddenly with the enemy. Having no time to form his troops, he charged in a confused manner with seventeen thousand men. When the two armies were engaged, Ahmud Shah attacked him from the position wherein he was concealed, and with his elephants and two thousand men fell on the rear of the Malwa army, which, confounded

between two attack, was panic-struck, and fled with precipitation. The Deccanies pursued, and slew about two thousand of the enemy, and took all their baggage. Two hundred elephants, together with the women composing the haram* of Sooltan Hooshung, also fell into the King's hands. Nursing Ray, hearing of the defeat of the Malwites, quitted his fortress, and intercepted them on their return through his country, and killed great numbers. Ahmud Shah, though victorious, lamented the necessity of his attacking the Mahomedans; but having conferred handsome presents on the females and children of Sooltan Hooshung's family, sent them to Malwa, without demanding a ransom, escorted by some persons of rank, and confidential eunuchs. Nursing Ray came to pay his respects and congratulate the King, accompanied by his sons; and having prevailed on him to visit Kehrla, entertained him sumptuously, and made rich offerings, among which were many valuable diamonds, rubies, and pearls. On his return, he attended the King as far as Mahoor, from whence he took leave, after having received honorary dresses and other marks of the royal favour.

It is written in the history of Malwa, that another battle happened between these two monarchs, on account of Nursing Ray's calling Sooltan Hooshung to his assistance, when Ahmud Shah besieged Kehrla; but as the writers of the

* The word haram needs no further explanation: it signifies, literally, *honour*. A Mussulman's wife and females are his honour.

Deccan do not record it, God only knows the truth. Ahmud Shah Bahmuny, on his return from this campaign, having arrived at Bidur, took the amusement of hunting; and coming to a beautiful spot, finely watered, resolved to found a city to be called Ahmudabad. A citadel of great extent and strength was erected on the site of Bidur,* the ancient capital of the princes of the country, who, according to the Hindoo books, written five thousand years ago, possessed the whole extent of Murhut, Carnatic, and Tulingana.† Raja Bheem-Sein was one of the most celebrated of this house; and the history of the loves of his daughter and Raja Nul, King of Malwa, are famous through all Hindoostan. The story of Nul and Dumun has been translated from the Hindoo language by Sheikh Feizy, into Persian verse, at the command of the Emperor Akbur.

Ahmud Shah, desirous of strengthening his family by alliances with foreign princes, asked in marriage the daughter of Nuseer Khan Farooky, ruler of Kandeish, who prided himself on his descent from Oomr Farook, for his son the Prince

* The fortress of Bidur is of great strength, and its, ditches, excavated from the rock on which it stands, are among the most remarkable works in the Deccan. I do not believe it was ever carried by storm. Some of the ruins in the town, and several of the mausolea in the suburbs, bespeak it to have been once a splendid city. Like every thing appertaining to the Mahomedan kingdoms of India, it is much dilapidated, and is falling rapidly into further decay.

† It seems rather improbable that these three kingdoms were ever united under one Hindoo prince, though Bidur might once have been a Hindoo capital.

Alla-ood-Deen. Nuseer Khan, apprehensive of the power of his neighbour, the King of Guzerat, received this offer favourably, and sent his daughter, in great state, with the ambassadors to Ahmudabad Bidur, where Ahmud Shah caused a palace to be prepared for her, till she could be properly received within the city. The nuptials were celebrated with much magnificence, the ceremonials of which lasted for two months.

At this period, the King thought proper to make a division of his territories among his children. Ramgir, Mahoor, and Kullum, with part of Berar, were assigned to Mahmood Khan. To Dawood Khan he gave regal insignia, and sent him with a number of the nobility to establish himself in Tulingana. The eldest prince, Alla-ood-Deen, being declared heir-apparent, was entrusted with the general superintendence of the affairs of the government, with whom was associated his younger brother Mahomed. On this occasion, the King required his officers to take oaths to observe this arrangement: vainly thinking to ensure by this means that which it was impossible could ever last. On the same occasion, Mullik-oot-Toojar, being raised to the rank of an officer of two thousand, was appointed governor of Dowlutabad.

A. H. 833.
A. D. 1429.

In the latter end of the year 833, the King ordered Mullik-oot-Toojar to march into the country of Concan, extending along the coast of the Indian ocean, in order to clear it of rebels and disturbers of the peace; where, in a short time, he executed his instructions so fully, that he brought that country under

subjection, and sent several elephants and camels loaded with gold and silver, the fruits of his conquests, to court.* Ahmud Shah, in reward of his services, conferred on him a suit of his own robes, a sword set with jewels, and other gifts, such as no servant of the house of Bahmuny had before ever been honoured with.

Mullik-oot-Toojar, from his excess of zeal for the King's service, also occupied the island of Mahim,† belonging to the King of Guzerat; upon which Ahmud Shah Guzeratty sent his son, Zuffur Khan, with an army to retake it. The King of the Deccan, conceiving it necessary to defend the new conquest, also despatched his son, Alla-ood-Deen, to reinforce Mullik-oot-Toojar. Both armies remained some time encamped in sight of each other, on opposite banks of an inlet of the sea, without either having the boldness to attack. At length the health of the Prince, Alla-ood-Deen, being affected by the unwholesome air and water of the country, he removed some days' journey for a change of air. Zuffur Khan, the Guzerat prince, during his absence, attacked

* It seems very doubtful if the whole of the Concan had ever been attacked before this period, and this exploit seems to have been rather a marauding expedition than a conquest. The ports of Dabul and Choul are spoken of at a very early period as in the hands of the Mahomedans; but whether they occupied much of the interior of the country appears very questionable.

† Bombay. This attack seems to have been very unjustifiable, and its result led to nothing but a series of disgraceful defeats, on the part of the Deccanies, both there and in other quarters.

Mullik-oot-Toojar, and after a desperate battle, the brother of the Deccan general was taken prisoner, two officers of high rank were killed, and the army received a total defeat; while the whole of the camp equipments, including tents, elephants, and horses, fell into the hands of the Guzeratties. In the Towareekh Mahmood Shahy it is stated, that the Prince Alla-ood-Deen was present in this action, and displayed proofs of great bravery; but as victory depends not solely on human exertions, both he and Mullik-oot-Toojar were obliged to fly with precipitaion.

Meanwhile Ahmud Shah Bahmuny, in a short time after this defeat, having recruited his forces, marched towards Guzerat;* and Ahmud Shah Guzeratty did not fail to meet him. The Deccanies, in the first instance, laid siege to a hill-fort † in Buglana: but the King, on hearing of the enemy's approach, raised the siege, and moved to oppose him. The two armies lay near each other for some time inactive, till at length the learned men on both sides effected a reconciliation; and it was agreed that each should rest satisfied with the districts and forts in his possession, nor in future molest the territories of the other.

The author of the Towareekh Alfy relates, that in the year 835 Ahmud Shah Bahmuny, hearing that the Prince Mahomed Khan, son of the King of Guzerat, was employed on a distant expedition to

A. H. 835.
A. D. 1431.

* The Deccan army proceeded through Gungturry into Kandeish.

† Tumbola.

Nundoorbar, marched against him; upon which Ahmud Shah Guzeratty hastened to assist his son; but the Deccanies, on his approach, retreating four marches, the King of Guzerat returned towards his capital, and encamped on the banks of the Tapty. Here he learned that the Deccanies had laid siege to Tumbola, upon which he moved against them; and an engagement ensued, which lasted from morning till sunset without being decided in favour of either army: but both the Kings, during the night, retreated to their own country, without having previously made peace. Other historians have also related the particulars of the siege of Tumbola: but as transcribing them all would occasion useless prolixity, I pass them over.

A. H. 836.
A. D. 1432.

In the year 836, the fort or citadel of Ahmudabad Bidur, built with stone, was finished; on which occasion the King ordered public rejoicings. In the same year, also, he put to death his sister's son, Sheer Khan,* whom he regarded as a dangerous rival to the interests of his own children.

A. H. 837.
A. D. 1433.

In the year 837, Sooltan Hooshung of Malwa, taking advantage of the war between the kings of Guzerat and the Deccan, again invaded the country of Nursing Ray, whom he slew in battle. He also reduced the fort of Kehrla and its dependent territory. On receiving

* This is the person who is accused of having instigated the King to cause his elder brother Feroze to be strangled; and aware of his sanguinary disposition, he naturally concluded him to be a dangerous rival to the throne.

intimation of these events, Ahmud Shah Bahmuny marched towards the Malwa army, but Nuseer Khan Farooky, ruler of Kandeish, interfering, induced the two kings to forego hostilities; and after some negotiation, it was resolved that the fort of Kehrla should belong to Sooltan Hooshung of Malwa, and the province of Berar to Ahmud Shah Bahmuny. A treaty was accordingly concluded to this effect; and being sworn to in a solemn manner, the two kings returned to their several capitals. Not long after this period, the King marched into Tulingana, to quell an insurrection of some powerful Hindoo chiefs, whom, in a short time, he reduced to obedience.

On returning towards his capital, and when within one march of Ahmudabad Bidur, the King conferred on Syud Nasir-ood-Deen Kurbulay* five thousand tunkas of silver for himself, and thirty thousand to be distributed in alms among the holy men at Kurbula. This is the same person whom Ahmud Shah is said to have shortly before seen in a dream personating the last of the prophets (Mahomed), and of whom Sheikh Azury speaks so highly in his works. At this period, the King sending for Nasir-ood-Deen gave him his audience of leave to proceed to Kurbula. After this ceremony, the holy man was passing on his way home on horseback, and came to a spot where one Sheer Mullik, an officer of rank, was sitting with several others. The Syud,

* A native of Kurbula, in Mesopotamia, the spot on which Hoossein, the grandson of the prophet Mahomed, was killed, and where he lies interred.

without noticing them, attempted to pass; but Sheer Mullik, offended at his not dismounting, directed his attendants to drag him to the ground.* Syud Nasir-ood-Deen, incensed at this insult, went instantly and complained to the King, who pacified him at the time, by saying, that God and the Prophet would, on a fit occasion, avenge his cause. Some time after, on the King's arrival at Ahmudabad Bidur, on the occasion of breaking up his army, when it is usual to distribute honorary robes to the officers previously to their return home, the King's eyes fell on Sheer Mullik; and recollecting, at the instant, the insult he had inflicted on Syud Nasir-ood-Deen, the King caused an elephant, named Kussab (the Butcher), to be brought, and reminding Sheer Mullik of his conduct to Syud Nasir-ood-Deen, ordered that he should be thrown under the animal's feet, which in one minute crushed him to death, where he lay as lifeless as if he had been dead a hundred years.

Rujub 28. A. H. 838. Feb. 19. A. D. 1435.

Ahmud Shah Wully Bahmuny reigned twelve years and two months, and died on the 28th day of Rujub, A. H. 838. †

*The overbearing insolence of the military nobles in Oriental governments is strongly pourtrayed throughout this transaction, while the respect shown by Ahmud Shah Wully to holy personages is powerfully exhibited, also, in the sequel.

† The date on his tomb at Bidur is simply 839: the period at which the mausoleum was, probably, completed. On the door is the following inscription:—

"Should my heart ache, my remedy is this—
"A cup of wine, and then I sip of bliss."

It is related that he paid great deference to holy and learned personages. As an instance of which, he deputed two holy men from his court to proceed to Kirman in Persia, in order to solicit Shah Neamut Oolla to return with them to India. These persons were Sheikh Hubeed-oolla-Jooneidy and Meer Shums-ood-Deen of Koom. Shah Neamut Oolla received the deputation with great honour; and though he declined proceeding in person to India, he directed one of his favourite disciples, Moolla Kootb-ood-Deen of Kirman, to accompany the deputies on their return, intrusting to his charge a box, containing a green crown with twelve points, for Ahmud Shah. On the return of the embassy, the King went forth to meet it; and on seeing Moolla Kootb-ood-Deen, he exclaimed, "Behold, this is the self-same dervish "I saw in a dream before I ascended the throne, "and who presented me with a green crown, "having twelve points! If the box he bears should "contain the green crown I saw in my sleep, then, "indeed, will my dream be miraculously fulfilled." On the holy man approaching and presenting the crown, the King was overcome with astonishment. The venerable Moolla told the King to be under no surprise nor apprehension, for that the crown he had seen was the identical crown he now presented to him, and that he, indeed, was the very bearer of it.* Shah Neamut Oolla, in addressing

* The coincidence between this story and that told of Alexander the Great, recognising the high priest of the Jews at Jerusalem as the person he had before seen in a dream is re-

the King, styled him, in his letter, Shahab-ood-Deen Ahmud Shah Wully, which so flattered him, that he adopted these titles on his signet ever after. In return for the visit of Moolla Kootb-ood-Deen, the King deputed Khwaja Imad-ood-Deen Sumnany and Seif-oolla Ahsunabady to proceed a second time to Kirman, and to entreat Shah Neamut Oolla to send one of his sons to the Bahmuny court. The saint, however, having but one son, Shah Khuleel Oolla, he only permitted his grandson, Meer Noor Oolla, to proceed to the Deccan.

On the young man's arrival at the port of Choul, the King sent his own palankeen, escorted by Meer Abool Kasim Joorjany and Syud Mahomed Sudr to attend him to the capital. On his reaching its vicinity, Ahmud Shah, attended by his sons, went forth to meet him; and having caused a mosque and a village to be erected on the spot, caused it to be called Neâmutâbâd. Some time after, the King conferred the title of Mullik-ool-Mushayik (the Chief of holy Men) on the grandson of Shah Neamut Oolla. He caused him, also, to sit above all other chiefs at the durbar, not even excepting the descendants of Syud Mahomed Geesoo-Duraz. In the course of time, too, the King gave his daughter in marriage to Meer Noor Oolla.

On the demise of Shah Neamut Oolla, in the year 834 (A. D. 1431), his son, Shah Khuleel Oolla, together with all his family, came to India.

markable. Ahmud Shah Bahmuny was as desirous of being considered a wully, or saint, as Alexander to be thought the son of Jupiter.

His second son, Shah Mohib Oolla (brother of Meer Noor Oolla), rose to great distinction in the Deccan as a military commander; and for his services he not only received the district of Beer as a maintenance, but also obtained in marriage the hand of the King's grand-daughter, the daughter of the Prince Alla-ood-Deen. The district has ever since continued in the family of these distinguished holy personages; and the mausoleum built on the outside of the town of Beer, which is now standing, was intended to receive the ashes of those venerable saints.

By his military enterprises, Shah Mohib Oolla acquired the appellation of Ghazy, "The holy "Warrior."

ALLA-OOD-DEEN SHAH BAHMUNY II.

The King's brother, the Prince Mahomed, is sent with an army to demand the Beejanuggur tribute.—The Prince proposes to the King's ministers in his camp to assist him in declaring his independence—they remonstrate, and are assassinated.—The Raja of Beejanuggur aids the Prince, who takes Moodkul, Rachore. Beejapoor, Nuldroog, and Sholapoor.—The Prince is defeated, and is compelled to accept of Rachore as an equivalent for the territory he has usurped.—The Concan invaded, and partially reduced.—Revolt in Berar, which is suppressed by Mullik-oot-Toojar with an army composed chiefly of foreign troops—The foreigners are directed to take precedence of the Deccanies at court.—The Raja of Beejanuggur enlists Mahomedan soldiers in his army—makes war with the King of the Deccan.—Three severe actions fought.—Peace effected.—Mullik-oot-Toojar proceeds to conquer the Concan—his army is destroyed, and he himself dies.—Animosity of the Deccany officers against the foreigners.—The King's indifference to public business—is afflicted with a painful disease—rumours of his death.—Insurrections in Berar and Tulingana.—Invasion by the King of Malwa.—Military arrangements for the defence of the kingdom.—The King dies—his character.

ALLA-OOD-DEEN SHAH ascended the throne at Ahmudabad Bidur, agreeably to the will of his father. He did not neglect his brother Mahomed Khan, but allowed him elephants, horses, and considerable estates. He appointed Dilawur Khan, one of the first officers of the court, to be his minister, with the title of Vakeel-oos-Sultunut,

and Khwaja Jehan Astrabady to be vizier. Imad-ool-Moolk Ghoory, an ancient chief, who, after performing great services to the royal family, had retired from business, was prevailed on to accept the office of Ameer-ool-Omra, and he was despatched, together with his brother Mahomed Khan and Khwaja Jehan, with a powerful army, against the infidels of Beejanuggur; the Raja of which had withholden the tribute for five years, and now refused to pay the arrears. This army laid waste the country, and committed great devastation; and the Raja only obtained peace by giving up twenty elephants, a considerable sum of money, and two hundred females, skilled in music and dancing, for the King, besides valuable presents which he made to the Prince Mahomed Khan.

On the return of the army near Moodkul, some discontented officers represented to Mahomed Khan, that as his father had made him a partner in the kingdom during his life, it was but just that Alla-ood-Deen Shah should either admit him to sit with him on the throne, and have the joint management of state affairs, or that he should make a division of the territories between them: but as the King showed no disposition to do either, his advisers observed, that the Prince had a right by force of arms to possess himself of half the kingdom. Mahomed Khan, entering into these views, endeavoured to persuade Khwaja Jehan, as also Imad-ool-Moolk Ghoory, to countenance his designs; both these officers, however, strenuously refusing to lend themselves to his

project, and setting before him the criminality of his intentions, the Prince caused them to be assassinated. After which, having procured a considerable army from the Ray of Beejanuggur to aid him, he seized upon Moodkul and Rachore, as well as on Sholapoor, Beejapoor, and Nuldroog.

Alla-ood-Deen Shah was more affected at the death of Imad-ool-Moolk Ghoory than at any other part of these proceedings; observing, that he had performed invaluable services for the state, that he was dear to him as his father, and that he was certain no good would come to the murderer of so worthy and distinguished a personage. Measures were now taken for collecting the King's troops, and large sums of money expended in equipments; after which, the King marched from the capital to engage the rebels. A severe conflict shortly after ensued between the brothers, when victory declared in favour of Alla-ood-Deen Shah. Most of the officers who had excited the insurrection were taken prisoners, while the Prince Mahomed Khan fled, with a few attendants, to the hills and woods for shelter. The King, mean time, returned to the city of Ahmudabad Bidur, and after pardoning the crimes of several of the guilty officers, he released them from confinement. By assurances of forgiveness and safety, also, the King prevailed on his brother to deliver himself up. On his arrival, he was received with affection, and not long after obtained the fortress and revenue of the territory of Rachore, vacant by the death of his brother, Prince Dawood, governor of Tulin-

gana. Here the Prince Mahomed Khan lived many years in the undisturbed possession of his estate, spending his time in a series of pleasures.

Mohurrum 1. A. H. 840. July 15. A. D. 1436.

On the 1st day of the year 840, Alla-ood-Deen Shah conferred robes of honour on Dilawur Khan, and intrusted him with an army to reduce the tract of country along the sea-shore called Concan, inhabited by a hardy race of men. The rajas of Rairee and Sonkehr,* being soon humbled, agreed to pay regular tribute; and Dilawur Khan, having secured the beautiful daughter of the latter raja for the King, returned to the capital accompanied by her, and with some years' arrears of tribute. The King at first was pleased at his services, and charmed with the Raja's daughter, who was without equal in beauty, disposition, and knowledge of music. He gave her the title of Perichehra, † and the fame of their loves became notorious. At length, learning that Dilawur Khan had received bribes from the rajas of Concan, and had not done his utmost to reduce their fortresses, he became cool towards that minister, who of his own accord resigned the seals of office, and by so doing saved himself from danger. This important situation was now filled by the eunuch Dustoor-ool-Moolk; but all ranks of people soon became disgusted with his insolent behaviour,

* Sonkehr. The situation of this place has not been ascertained, and may, probably, be an error in the MSS. I have consulted.

† Fairy Face.

which, though daily represented to the King, made no impression on his mind. Alla-ood-Deen Shah regarded these complaints as proceeding from envy, and the result of a faction, on which account he showed him every day greater favour. At length Hoomayoon, the King's son, desiring the eunuch to accede to some petition which he had brought forward, he replied he could not attend to it immediately, but in a day or two would take it into his consideration. At the expiration of two or three days, the Prince again sent him word that the business was still unfinished, and desiring that he would conclude it without delay. The minister returned for answer, that the case did not come within the Prince's department, and that it was unbecoming in him to interfere.

The Prince, naturally violent, lost his temper, at this affront, and calling one of his attendants, ordered him to assassinate the eunuch; at the same time, he promised to protect him from the consequences. The soldier, who had himself suffered some injury from the minister, accepted the commission; and accordingly, on the same day, while Dustoor-ool-Moolk was coming from the court, the assassin approached him as if about to present a petition, when suddenly drawing a dagger from his girdle, he stabbed him to the heart. The Prince's guards, who were prepared for the event, favoured the murderer's escape, and a scuffle arose in consequence between them and the minister's attendants. The noise reached the King's apartments, and the Prince Hoomayoon

went out as if to enquire the cause of the disturbance. On his return, he informed the King that a soldier of long service, and who had claims on the royal favour, having been contemptuously treated by Dustoor-ool-Moolk, and having, now especially, suffered abusive language from him, had stabbed him, and was seized by the troops, who waited orders concerning his disposal. The King, who throughout his reign was averse to pass sentence of death on any one, and suspecting the real truth from the Prince's manner, merely directed the murderer to be confined, and conferred the vacant office of minister on Meamun Oolla Deccany, one of the learned men of the time of Feroze Shah.

A. H. 841.
A. D. 1437.

In the year 841, Mullika Jehan, the King's wife, (the daughter of Nuseer Khan, ruler of Kandeish,) jealous of her husband's preference to Perichehra, and offended with his coldness towards herself, wrote letters of complaint to her father. Nuseer Khan, making this a plea to wage war with Alla-ood-Deen Shah, and being supported by Ahmud Shah of Guzerat, projected the conquest of Berar. He accordingly made private overtures to the officers of that province, promising them great rewards if they would join his standard. His offers met with such success, that the Deccan chiefs unanimously resolved to join him; observing, that as he was descended from the great Oomr, if they fell in battle fighting against his enemies, they should die martyrs. Nuseer Khan accordingly entered

Berar with all the troops of Kandeish, a considerable force having been also sent to his aid by the Raja of Gondwara. The treacherous officers attempted to seize their governor, Khan Jehan, who was too firmly attached to the house of Bahmuny to join the invaders; and he, obtaining information of their designs, fled to the fortress of Narnala, where he shut himself up, and wrote accounts of the state of affairs to his court. The traitors, meanwhile, joined Nuseer Khan, and not only read the Khootba in his name, as King of Berar, but marched with him to besiege Narnala.

Alla-ood-Deen Shah, on receiving this intelligence, called a council of his ministers and military chiefs, to concert measures for acting at such a critical moment. It was recommended that the King should proceed in person against the enemy, it being probable that both the kings of Guzerat and Malwa, as also the rays of Gondwara, were prepared to aid in assisting Nuseer Khan. The King, however, suspecting the fidelity of his chiefs, appointed Mullik-oot-Toojar, then governor of Dowlutabad, to conduct the campaign.

Mullik-oot-Toojar having accepted the commission, observed,, that servants had no option but submission, and it was their duty to resign even life itself at the command of their masters; but he observed, that it was notorious the defeat at Mahim (Bombay) was occasioned solely by the enmity of the Deccany and Abyssinian officers

towards him, since they could not bear to see a foreigner * distinguish himself. He humbly requested, therefore, that the King would, on the present occasion, give him the command of the household troops, and all the foreigners, without any Deccanies or Abyssinians, when he trusted, by the blessing of the Almighty, and the royal auspices, he should be able to bring affairs in Berar to a prosperous issue. Alla-ood-Deen Shah consenting, directed three thousand Mogul bowmen from the body-guard to attend him, as also many Mogul officers, who had been brought up in the service of Feroze Shah and Ahmud Shah. Among these guards were two princes, Mujnoon Sooltan and Shah Koolly Sooltan, both lineal descendants from the great conqueror Chungiz Khan. Mullik-oot-Toojar proceeded, in the first place, to Dowlutabad, from whence he despatched an army of observation to the frontiers of Guzerat and Malwa, and entered Berar with a well equipped army of seven thousand veteran Moguls; † Khan Jehan, also, having found an opportunity of quitting Narnala, joined the King's army at Mehkur. Mullik-oot-Toojar now detached Khan Jehan with his

* Khulf Hussun, Mullik-oot-Toojar, it has been before stated, was a foreign merchant. The hostility of the Deccanies and Abyssinians to the Persians and Toorks seems to have prevailed throughout the long period of the reign of the Deccan kings.

† Mogul is the appellation given by the Deccany historians to all the foreign Mahomedans, whether Arabs, Persians, or Tartars, whereas, the name ought strictly to be confined to one particular race.

troops to Elichpoor, in order to prevent the Ray of Gondwara from entering Berar by that route, while himself moved with the main body towards the Rohunkehra Ghat, where the enemy was encamped. At the foot of the pass, he was opposed by a detachment of Kandeish troops, whom he routed with great slaughter; and Nuseer Khan, thinking this defeat an ill omen, retreated with precipitation to Boorhanpoor, to which city he was pursued by Mullik-oot-Toojar; and not thinking himself safe even at that capital, he fled to the fortress of Lulling.*

Mullik-oot-Toojar, having levied heavy contributions from the citizens of Boorhanpoor in jewels, money, and effects, proceeded to lay waste the province of Kandeish; which having done to the extent of his wishes, he returned to Boorhanpoor, burned down the royal palaces, and dug up their foundations, and then marched as if towards the Deccan; but during the night, having changed his route, he made one forced march, and appeared suddenly before Lulling with four thousand horse. Nuseer Khan, who had with him twelve thousand men, thinking he must have the advantage over an enemy inferior not only in numbers, but exhausted with fatigue, gave battle. The Kandeish troops,

* This little, and now insignificant, fortress seems to have been the most formidable of the retreats of Nuseer Khan. Buglana, with its hundred hills, was yet unsubdued by the Mahomedans; but it seems strange he should not have taken refuge in Aseer, where, had he been prepared, he might have bidden defiance to the Deccan army.

however, were totally defeated, and many of Nuseer Khan's principal officers, together with the rebel chiefs of Berar, were slain: while Mullik-oot-Toojar having secured a large booty, part of which consisted of seventy elephants and some artillery, returned in triumph towards Ahmudabad Bidur.

On his approach, Alla-ood-Deen Shah, to mark his sense of the meritorious services of his general, sent the Prince Hoomayoon, attended by all the court, to meet him at a considerable distance from the city; where, on his arrival, the King gave him a suit of the royal robes, an elephant, and a sabre set with jewels, with permission to retire to his government of Dowlutabad. At the same time, all the chiefs who had accompanied him were gratified with titles, promotion, and grants of lands. To Shah Koolly Sooltan, who had particularly distinguished himself, the King gave his daughter in marriage: and ordered that the Moguls should, in future, take precedence of the Deccanies and Abyssinians. From the day of this distinction till the present time the most rooted inveteracy has existed between the Deccanies and Moguls, which the former have evinced on all occasions, when opportunities offered.

About this time, Dew Ray of Beejanuggur summoned a council of his nobility and principal bramins; observing to them, that as his country (the Carnatic), in extent, population, and revenue, far exceeded that of the house of Bahmuny, and also as his army was more numerous, he requested them to point out the cause of the successes of the Mahomedans, and of his being reduced to pay

them tribute. Some said, that the Almighty had decreed to them a superiority over the Hindoos for thirty thousand years, a circumstance which was foretold in their own writings; that it was on this account, therefore, the Hindoos were generally subdued by them. Others said, that the superiority of the Moslems arose out of two circumstances: first, that their horses were stronger, and able to endure more fatigue than the weak animals of the Carnatic; secondly, that a great body of excellent archers was always maintained in pay by the kings of the house of Bahmuny, of whom the Ray had but few in his army.

Dew Ray, upon this, gave orders to enlist Mussulmans in his service, allotting to them estates, and erecting a mosque for their use in the city of Beejanuggur.* He also commanded that no one should molest them in the exercise of their religion, and, moreover, he ordered a Koran to be placed before his throne on a rich desk, so that the faithful might perform the ceremony of obeisance in his presence without sinning against their laws.† He also made all the Hindoo soldiers learn the

* This is a curious and instructive fact, and shows that strong inducements of interest will, at all times, overcome the repugnance the Hindoos have to associate with strangers. It is difficult to conceive a stronger instance than this of a Hindoo raja enlisting Mussulmans to oppose their brethren in arms.

† The Mussulmans, too, had compunctions in bowing to an infidel, who, to humour them, allowed a Koran to be put before him, and they saluted it, while the Raja chose to take the compliment to himself: so that the feelings of both parties were spared.

art of archery; to which both he and his officers so applied themselves, that he could soon muster two thousand Mahomedans and sixty thousand Hindoos well skilled in archery, besides eighty thousand cavalry, and two hundred thousand infantry, armed in the usual manner with pikes and lances.

With this host, he resolved on conquering the Bahmuny kingdom; and, accordingly, in the year 847, having crossed the Toongbudra suddenly, he took the fortress of Moodkul, sent his sons to besiege Rachore and Bunkapoor, and encamped with his army along the bank of the Krishna. From hence he sent detachments which plundered the country as far as Sagur and Beejapoor, laying it waste with fire and sword. Alla-ood-Deen Shah, on receiving intelligence of these events, prepared to repel the invasion, and commanded all his troops from Tulingana, Dowlutabad, and Berar, to repair to the capital of Ahmudabad Bidur without delay. On reviewing them, he found his army to consist of fifty thousand horse, sixty thousand foot, and a considerable train of artillery. With this force he marched against the enemy; and Dew Ray, on his approach, encamped under the walls of the fortress of Moodkul, and detached a large body of light troops to harass the King on his advance. The King's army halted at the distance of twelve miles from Moodkul, and Mullik-oot-Toojar was detached with the Dowlutabad division against the sons of Dew Ray; while Khan

A. H. 847.
A. D. 1443.

Zuman, governor of Beejapoor, and Khan Azim, commander of the forces of Berar and Tulingana, were opposed to the main body of the enemy. Mullik-oot-Toojar, going first to Rachore, gave battle to the eldest son of Dew Ray, who was wounded in the action, and fled towards Bunkapoor, from whence he was joined by his younger brother, who quitted the siege of that fortress.

In the space of two months, three actions took place between the two grand armies; in the first of which, multitudes were slain on both sides, and the Hindoos having the advantage, the Mussulmans experienced heavy losses. The King was successful in the second; and in the last, the eldest son of Dew Ray was killed by a spear thrown at him by Khan Zuman; which event struck the Hindoos with a panic, who fled with precipitation into the fortress of Moodkul. Musheer-ool-Moolk and his brother (officers of note), following the fugitives, entered the fort with them; and the infidels, admiring their valour, took them both prisoners without injury, and carried them before Dew Ray, who caused them to be kept in confinement. Alla-ood-Deen Shah, upon this, wrote to him, that he valued the lives of the two chiefs equal to that of two hundred thousand common men, therefore, as it was a rule with the princes of his family to slay a hundred thousand Hindoos in revenge for the death of a single Mussulman, he swore, should Dew Ray take away the lives of the two captive officers, he would revenge the death of each by the slaughter of a hundred thousand Hindoos.

The Raja, who knew by experince the determination with which the Bahmuny princes fulfilled their vows, despatched confidential persons to the King, proposing, on condition of his promising not to molest his territories in future, to pay annually the sitpulated tribute, and to release the two prisoners. The King acceding to these terms, a treaty was concluded, and Dew Ray immediately sent back Musheer-ool-Moolk and his brother. He also made an offering of forty war elephants, and valuable effects to a great amount, paying at the same time the tribute due for some years past. The King then honoured the Ray with a handsome dress, and presented him with several horses covered with rich furniture set with jewels; after which he began his march homeward; and during the rest of his reign, Dew Ray regularly remitted his tribute, the King strictly observing, on his part also, the treaty formed on this occasion.

In the early part of his reign, Alla-ood-Deen Shah erected, at Ahmudabad Bidur, an infirmary for the poor; to support the expenses of which he granted considerable tracts of land, and established in it both Mussulman and Hindoo physicians. To every part of his dominions he sent censors of morals and just judges; and though he drank wine himself he for bade the use of it to others, as also the practice of gaming. He put chains on the necks of kullendurs,* and idle, dissipated vagabonds, whom he punished by employing them in removing filth from the streets, in dragging

* Calendars.

heavy stones, and in the performance of all manner of laborious work, in order that they might reform, and either earn their livelihood by industry, or quit the country altogether. If any person, after admonition and moderate correction, was convicted of drinking wine, it was enacted, that melted lead should be poured down his throat, whatever might be the rank of the offender.

One of the grandsons of Syud Mahomed Geesoo-Duraz, captivated by a courtesan, was induced by her to drink wine, and becoming quarrelsome from its effects, he beat the woman, and cut off her side locks. The affair was brought before the kotwal,* who confined both parties; but out of consideration for the rank of the Syud, he thought proper to refer the case to the royal presence. The King was much enraged, and ordered the offender to be carried to the most public square of the city, there to receive two hundred blows on the soles of his feet, and he was required to take a solemn oath against drinking wine; while the courtesan was led through the streets dressed in an ass's skin, and afterwards banished from the city.

The King regulated his civil and military departments so wisely, that the acts of Fureedoon and Nowshirwan lost their lustre when compared with his. On Fridays, and on all holidays, he attended the mosque and heard sermons. He was averse from shedding human blood, though he destroyed many idolatrous temples, and erected mosques in their stead. He held conversation

* Civil magistrate.

neither with Nazarenes nor with bramins; nor would he permit them to hold civil offices under his government.*

After the war of Beejanuggur the King changed his conduct, and gave himself wholly up to luxurious enjoyments. Transferring the management of his government to ministers, he collected a thousand of the most beautiful women he could procure; to accommodate whom he erected a magnificent palace, and laid out elegant gardens around it, on the banks of a piece of water. This palace he called the abode of bliss; and therein he spent most of his time in drinking ruby-coloured wines, and in pressing the lips of smooth-faced damsels, or listening to the melody of sweet-voiced musicians. During this intoxication of pleasure, he only appeared in the public audience hall once every four or five months; and the Deccany officers exercised the power of government with uncontrolled sway.

At this time Meamun-Oolla Deccany formed a plan for reducing to subjection all the fortresses along the sea-coast. To affect this, the King deputed Mullik-oot-Toojar, with seven thousand Deccany infantry, and three thousand Arabian cavalry, besides his own division, to the westward. Mullik-oot-Toojar, fixing upon Chakun as his seat of government, secured the fort near the city of Joonere, from whence he sent detachments, at different times, into Concan, and reduced several rajas to subjection. At length he moved to that

* The passage alludes, probably, to offices at court only.

country in person, and laid siege to a fort the Raja of which was named Sirka,* whom he speedily obliged to surrender, and to deliver himself and family into his hands.

Mullik-oot-Toojar insisted that Sirka should embrace the faith of Islam, or be put to death; upon which the subtle infidel, with much assumed humility, represented that there existed between him and Shunkur Ray, who owned the country around the fortress of Kehlna,† a family jealousy, and that should he enter into the pale of Islam, and his rival remain secure in the full possession of power, he would, on the general's retreat, taunt him with ignominy on account of his change of religion, and excite his own family and subjects to revolt; so that he should lose the countries his ancestors had held for ages. Raja Sirka added, however, that if Mullik-oot-Toojar would reduce his rival, Shunkur Ray of Kehlna, and give his country either to himself or to one of his officers, which might be effected with little difficulty, he would then pronounce the creed of the true faith, become enrolled among the servants of the King, and remit annually a tribute to his treasury, as well as assist in reducing those rajas who might hereafter fail in their duty and allegiance.

Mullik-oot-Toojar replied, that he heard the road to the Ray's country was woody, and full of

* Sirka, or more properly Sirky (the Sirkay of the author of the excellent Marratta history), is the name of one of the most ancient families of the Concan. The mother of the present Raja of Satara was of that house.

† Vishalghur.

difficult passes. To which Sirka answered, that while there was a guide with the army so faithful and capable as himself, not a single soul should receive injury. Accordingly, Mullik-oot-Toojar, relying on the promises of the Raja, in the year 858 began his expedition against Kehlna, but was deserted in the outset by most of the Deccany and Abyssinian officers and troops, who declined entering the woods. Raja Sirka, agreeably to his promise, during the first two days conducted the army along a broad road, so that the general praised his zeal and fidelity; but on the third day he led them by paths so intricate, that the male tiger, from apprehension, might change his sex, and through passes more fortuitous than the curly locks of the fair, and more difficult to escape from than the mazes of love. Demons even might start at the precipices and caverns in those wilds, and ghosts might be panic-struck at the awful view of the mountains. Here the sun never enlivened with its splendour the vallies; nor had Providence designed that it should penetrate their depths. The very grass was tough and sharp as the fangs of serpents, and the air fetid as the breath of dragons. Death dwelt in the waters, and poison impregnated the breeze. After winding, weary and alarmed, through these dreadful labyrinths, the army entered a darker forest, a passage through which was difficult even to the winds of heaven. It was bounded on three sides by mountains, whose heads towered above the clouds, and on the other side was an inlet of the ocean, so that there was

A. H. 858.
A. D. 1453.

no path by which to advance, nor road for retreat, but that by which they had entered.*

Mullik-oot-Toojar at this crisis fell ill of a bloody flux, so that he could not attend to the regularity of the line of march, or give orders for the disposition of his troops, who being excessively fatigued, about night-fall flung themselves down to rest wherever they could find room, for there was no spot which admitted of two tents being pitched near each other. While the troops were thus scattered in disorder, Sirka, their treacherous guide, left them, and communicated to Shunkur Ray that he had lured the game into his toils. The Ray, with a great force conducted by Sirka, about midnight attacked the Mussulmans from all quarters, who, unsuspicious of surprise, were buried in the sleep produced by excessive exertions. In this helpless state, nearly seven thousand soldiers of the faithful were put to death, like sheep, with knives and daggers; the wind blowing violently, the rustling of the trees prevented the troops from hearing the cries of their fellow-sufferers. Among these was Mullik-oot-Toojar, who fell with five hundred noble Syuds of Medina, Kurbulla, and Nujuf; as also some few Deccany and Abyssinian officers, together with about two thousand of their adherents, who had remained

* The above passage has been given literally, in order to afford a sample of the author's style. The description is very characteristic of the general features of the Concan country; though it is not easy to fix the exact spot into which the Mahomedan army was led to its destruction.

with their general. Before daylight the Ray, having completed his bloody work, retired with his people from the forest.

Those who survived this dreadful massacre retraced, with much difficulty, the path by which they had advanced, and joined the Deccany and Abyssinian officers, who had remained encamped on the plains above the Ghats. The latter advised the foreigners to retire to their estates, that they might recover from their fatigues, and supply themselves with necessaries for future service. To this proposal the Moguls would not accede, as the town of Chakun was near, where they might, in a short time, recruit their strength, and be able to rejoin the army. Some of the Moguls, also, imprudently observed, that the defection and cowardice of the Deccany officers, who had refused to descend the Ghats, was the occasion of the disaster which had befallen Mullik-oot-Toojar and the Syuds. After their arrival at Chakun, the Moguls threatened to write full accounts to court of the desertion of the Deccanies.

The latter, apprehensive of this, resolved to be the first accusers, and therefore sent advices to the King, stating, that Mullik-oot-Toojar, at the instigation of a zemindar named Sirka, and by the advice of the Syuds and Moguls, had entered on a wild project in defiance of their most earnest remonstrances; that the general had by his own death suffered the punishment of his rashness, and that most of his followers had also fallen; that the surviving foreign troops, instead of agreeing to remain with them till another general should be

appointed, had behaved with insolence, spoken disrespectfully of the King, and were gone in a body to the fortress of Chakun, offering their services to the rajas of the Concan, and inviting them to revolt.

These letters were forwarded through Sheer-ool-Moolk Deccany and Nizam-ool-Moolk, son of Imad-ool-Moolk Ghoory, officers hostile to the Moguls, whom they regarded as rivals. They accordingly presented the letters to Alla-ood-Deen Shah, when heated with wine, and related the defeat of Mullik-oot-Toojar, and the behaviour of the surviving Moguls. The story was told with a thousand exaggerations, and with aggravating and malicious insinuations. The King, incensed against the foreigners, without a moment's reflection, directed the two officers who brought the communication to repair forthwith to Chakun, and put all the foreigners to the sword.

Like Abdoolla Zeead, or Shums-ool-Joshun,* putting on armour against the descendants of the Prophet, these officers moved towards Chakun with a great force. The Syuds and Moguls, hearing of their approach, shut themselves up in the fort, and despatched petitions to court, relating the truth, and pleading their innocence; but their messengers were intercepted by Sheer-ool-Moolk, who destroyed the letters. They despatched other letters, but finding that none of their own

* Ferishta compares the attack on the Syuds in Chakun to that made on Hoossein and his seventy followers, near Kurbulla, by Abdoolla Bin Zeead and Shums-ool-Joshun, who marched to attack, and who destroyed, the grandson of the Prophet, and his small party, in the desert.

companions were allowed to pass, they entrusted their petition to two natives of Hindoostan, who had been for years maintained by their countrymen. These wretches, whose black complexions were but an index of their hearts, giving way to their naturally treacherous dispositions, carried the letters to Sheer-ool-Moolk, who destroyed them, as he had done the former, and rewarded the betrayers with gifts. The approaches to Chakun were now so closely blocked up, that no persons, could pass without search; and the unfortunate Syuds, like their great ancestor Hoossein, were reduced to the extremity of despair. But they resolutely determined to defend themselves till the last. Sheer-ool-Moolk, finding them obstinately bent on resistance, summoned the Deccany officers from the Concan to assist him; and thus a great army was assembled before Chakun. The siege continued for two months without effect; during which time Sheer-ool-Moolk wrote frequently to court, that the Syuds and Moguls, continuing in obstinate rebellion, had asked assistance of the King of Guzerat, offering to deliver up Chakun into his hands. The Deccany ministers supported these representations with all their influence, and procured repeated orders from the King to punish the rebels in such a manner as to operate as an example to others. If now and then a letter from the accused found its way to the capital, the ministers took care to prevent its being seen by the King, who, they pretended, was so enraged, that he would not even hear or read a word from them.

When provisions in the fort grew scarce, the

besieged resolved to leave a sufficient number to defend their families, and to make a sally on their enemies; hoping, that by fighting their road through them, they might reach the capital, and lay the true state of affairs before the King. The Deccanies learning their design dreaded the event, as they knew they would all fight desperately, and some would, most probably, make good their way to court, which would immediately lead to a discovery of the treachery of the Deccanies; they therefore had recourse to stratagem to get the besieged into their power. To this end they sent a message to them, saying, that being followers of the Prophet, and pitying their misfortunes and the children and women of the Syuds, they had interceded with the King for pardon, who at last, complying with their petition, had given orders that they should be permitted to retire unmolested out of his dominions, with their families and effects. A forged order, to this purpose, was produced as a proof of the sincerity of their declaration, and both chiefs, like Yezeed,* swore by the Almighty, by the Koran, and by the Prophet of God, that they would not injure them in person or property.

Relying on these solemn oaths, the unfortunate foreigners, in number about two thousand five hundred, of whom twelve hundred were Syuds of pure descent, evacuated the fort, with their wives and children, and encamped at a short distance, in order to provide the means for moving them. The Deccany chiefs for three days abided by their

* The Caliph Yezeed, who caused the attack on Hoossein.

promises, using every endeavour to gain their confidence, and lull suspicion, by kind offices and offers of assistance. On the fourth day, however, they prevailed on the chiefs to come to an entertainment in the fort, at which all the principal foreigners, in number about three hundred, attended, with the exception of Kasim Beg (Suff Shikun),* Kurra Khan Koord, and Ahmud Beg of Mecca. While in the act of eating, a number of armed men, on a signal given by Sheer-ool-Moolk, rushed upon them, and put every soul to the sword. At the same instant, four thousand Deccanies outside the fort attacked the camp of the foreigners and put every male to death, even the very infants at the breast. After this tragedy, they plundered the tents, and treated the women with all the insult that lust or brutality could provoke. Since the time of Hoossein, the Syuds were never so maltreated; but is it not astonishing, that men, who called themselves servants of the Prophet, should so basely misuse his descendants?

Kasim Beg and the Moguls, who had encamped about two miles from the rest of their unfortunate companions, on hearing the alarm, armed themselves, and putting even the women in soldiers' habits, fled towards the capital. Sheer-ool-Moolk instantly despatched two thousand horse to pursue them under Dawood Khan, and wrote to all the jageerdars and farmers to intercept them as rebels, or cut them off, under pain of the King's displeasure. Kasim Beg, however, with three

* So called from his having distinguished himself in breaking the enemy's line.

hundred followers only, posted on without halting except when the Deccanies approached so near as to oblige him to disperse them, which he did frequently with desperate valour. He passed the nights in the open fields, and in this manner proceeded for some days; till at length, near the town of Beer, he was closely pressed by Dawood Khan, who had summoned Hussun Khan, the jageerdar of Beer, to his aid. This nobleman had once been saved from great danger in one of the Beejanuggur campaigns by Kasim Beg, whom he now resolved to assist in turn; and he accordinly told Dawood Khan, that it was impossible the Moguls could be rebels, as they were hastening of their own accord to the capital. Dawood Khan was now joined by Sheer-ool-Moolk in person, who overtook him with fifteen hundred additional troops, with which they attacked the Moguls. Kasim Beg, with his followers, resisted like men fighting for life. Dawood Khan was luckily killed by an arrow in the first onset; but this circumstance only excited the Deccanies to revenge, and they had almost overpowered the Moguls, when Hussun Khan coming to their assistance, the Deccanies retreated with the body of their leader towards Chakun. Hussun Khan conducted the brave sufferers to his residence, where they were supplied with provisions by his kindness; and he wrote also representations to the King, who, in answer, commanded Kasim Beg and his companions to repair to court.

Upon their arrival, Alla-ood-Deen Shah commanded them into his presence, and having

examined into the whole affair, he was enraged at the conduct of his treacherous ministers, and blamed himself for his own fatal confidence. He then directed Moostufa Khan, who had withheld the letters of the Syuds from his perusal, to be beheaded on the spot, and his body to be exposed in the public streets. He appointed Kasim Beg to the government of Dowlutabad and Joonere, and conferred on him the honours enjoyed by the late Mullik-oot-Toojar. He raised all his followers to rank, and ordered fresh levies of Moguls to be raised and placed under their command. He appropriated the houses and effects of Nizam-ool-Moolk and Sheer-ool-Moolk to his own use, and commanded them, with all the other aggressors, to be led into the capital, walking on foot, loaded with heavy chains. Those persons who had been instrumental in forging the first accusations he put to death in various ways and deprived their children of their estates, so that they wanted even a meal. According to the Tubkat Mahmood Shahy, Sheer-ool-Moolk and Nizam-ool-Moolk were afflicted with leprosy in the same year, and their children walked the streets for shameful purposes, among the outcasts of society.*

* The reader will observe with what acrimony the whole of this transaction is related by Ferishta; but it is not easy for a Christian of the nineteenth century to enter into the feelings of a Sheea Mahomedan when reviewing such a subject. If he can imagine what would be the feelings of a Protestant writer of the time recording the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, he would have even but a slight notion of the horror of the Mahomedan historian on the present occasion.

In this year (A. D. 1453) Sheikh Azry, the King's preceptor, for whom when a youth he had great respect, wrote him a long letter of advice from Khorassan. The King was much effected with the persual. He in consequence forswore the use of wine, and answered the letter with his own hand, and sent also valuable presents in return. The King now rigidly enforced the institutes of Ahmud Shah, attended regularly to the administration of his affairs, and removed all the Deccanies from offices of trust.

A. H. 859.
A. D. 1454.

In the year 859, a dangerous eruption breaking out in the King's foot, which baffled the art of the surgeons, he was necessarily confined to his private apartments, and reports were often spread through the provinces of his death. Among other persons, one Julal Khan, the King's brother-in-law, being assured of his decease, seized on many districts around his government of Nowulgoond, which he gave in charge to his son Sikundur Khan, grandson (by his mother) to the late Ahmud Shah.* Khan Azim, governor of Tulingana, also dying at this time, and no officer of sufficient influence being on the spot to assume the charge, the officers of the province submitted to the authority of Sikundur Khan.

Alla-ood-Deen Shah, in spite of his indisposition, prepared to march in order to reduce the rebels, on which Julal Khan and Sikundur Khan agreed, that the former should remain in Tulingana, and the latter proceed to Mahoor,

* Consequently, the King's nephew.

the better to distract the motions of the royal army. The King sent offers of pardon, if the rebels would lay down their arms; but Sikundur Khan having on a former occasion joined the Prince Mahomed Khan in his insurrection, and having been guilty of many other offences, refused to rely on the King's promises. He therefore represented to the King of Malwa, Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy, that Alla-ood-Deen Shah had been long dead, but that the ministers, pretending he was still alive, had resolved to destroy the principal nobles, and to divide the kingdom among themselves; that under these circumstances, if the King of Malwa chose to undertake the project, the provinces of Berar and Tulingana would fall without a blow into his hands. Sooltan Mahmood, crediting these assurances so flattering to his ambition, marched, in conjunction with the ruler of Kandeish, in the year 860, to the Deccan. They were joined by Sikundur Khan, who advanced with a body of one thousand horse to meet them.

A. H. 860.
A. D. 1455.

Alla-ood-Deen Shah, on receiving this intelligence, changed his design of going in person to Tulingana, whither he deputed Khwaja Mahmood Geelany (commonly called Gawan), with a considerable army, to attack Julal Khan. At the same time Khan Jehan, governor of Berar, was directed to watch the motions of the ruler of Kandeish, while Kasim Beg,* governor of Dow-

* The same person who escaped from the massacre of the foreigners at Chakun.

lutabad, advanced with a corps of observation towards the division led by the King of Malwa, the King of the Deccan being with the main army, consisting chiefly of the Beejapoor division, following at the distance of ten miles.

Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa, now satisfied that the Deccan king was still living, and actually marching against him, retreated with the greatest part of his army, leaving an officer, under pretence of assisting Sikundur Khan, but with secret instructions, in case of his attempting to join the Deccanies, to seize his person, and bring him prisoner to Mando with all his treasure. Sikundur Khan, gaining timely information of this design, escaped from the Malwa army with two thousand Afghans and Rajpoots to Nowlgoond, to which place Khwaja Mahmood Gawan was then about to lay siege. Shortly after this, Sikundur Khan delivered up the fortress, on condition of a free pardon. On going to court with Khwaja Mahomed Gawan, he was again received into favour, and Nowlgoond was restored to him. The King having left Fukhr-ool-Moolk Toork in the government of the Mahoor districts, and Furhut-ool-Moolk in command of the garrison of Mahoor, returned to his capital, where in the year 862, the disorder in his foot increasing to a mortification, he left this world of vanity for that of eternity, after a reign of twenty three years, nine months, and twenty days.

A. H. 862.
A. D. 1457.

Alla-ood-Deen Shah is said to have been eloquent, possessing great wit, and fond of learning.

He would sometimes ascend the pulpit in the grand mosque on Fridays and holidays, and read the Khootba, in which he mentioned himself by the following titles:—"The monarch just, merciful, "patient, and liberal to the servants of God, chief "in worldly and religious affairs, son of the most "distinguished among princes, Ahmud Shah "Wully Bahmuny." One day, an Arabian merchant, who had sold horses for the King's use, the payment for which was delayed by the officers of the household, being present when he read the above titles, roused by the ill usage he had experienced, and indignant at the cruel massacre of the innocent syuds, which had just taken place, exclaimed with a loud voice, "Thou art neither "the just, the merciful, the patient, nor the liberal "king, but the cruel and the false, who hast "massacred the Prophet's descendants, yet darest "to assume such vaunting titles in the pulpit of "the true believers."* The King, struck with remorse, commanded the merchant to be paid on the spot, saying that those would not escape the wrath of God who had thus injured his reputation. He then retired to his palace, and never entered the mosque again, till he was brought there a corpse to be interred. The King, finding himself dying, appointed his son, Hoomayoon his

* This is an instance of the bold language to which despotic monarchs are sometimes exposed in public, when individuals, driven to despair, take this course as a means either of shortening their lives, or of putting an end to oppression to which they are no longer willing to submit.

successor contrary to the wishes of all his court, who dreaded his cruel and sanguinary temper; and several of the nobles made their escape to Guzerat before the King's death, to avoid the tyranny of his successor.

HOOMAYOON SHAH ZALIM* BAHMUNY.

The Prince Hussun, the King's youngest son, is raised to the throne by the ministers, and an attempt made to seize Hoomayoon.—The plot is frustrated.—The young Prince is deposed, and Hoomayoon assumes the crown.—The contrivers of the plot are punished.—The Prince is deprived of his eyesight.—Khwaja Mahmood Gawan is created minister.—Changes in the government.—Sikundur Khan of Nowlgoond goes into rebellion—is killed in action.—Attack on the fort of Dewurconda.—The Hindoos procure reinforcements.—The King's troops defeated.—The King orders his general to suffer death, and the second in command to be disgraced.—Fresh efforts to reduce Dewurconda interrupted by news of the escape of the King's brother—his rebellion—is taken at Beejapoor.—The King's cruelty to him, and all persons connected with him.—Exercises the greatest brutality towards his subjects—falls ill, and dies.

At the time Alla-ood-Deen Shah was breathing his last, the Prince Hoomayoon was in his own palace, and Seif Khan and Mulloo Khan, two nobles of distinction, concealing the circumstance of the King's death, privately raised his youngest son, Hussun Khan, to the throne. In this plot they were joined by Hubeeb Oolla,† and some other chiefs, who regarded the measure as an

* The Cruel.

† This is one of the holy personages who were deputed to wait on Shah Neamut Oolla, in Khorassan. These learned divines seem frequently to have entered deeply into court intrigues.

unexpected blessing. A party of the insurgents now proceeded to plunder the palace of Hoomayoon Shah, and secure his person. Hoomayoon opposed this attack with resolution, obliging the insurgents to retire, and pursuing them towards the royal apartments. On the way, the elephantdrivers, perdehdars,* silehdars, and body guards, with other persons of the household, who were ignorant of any preconcerted plan for the King's destruction, joined Hoomayoon, so that he entered the grand hall of audience without opposition, and seized his brother, who sat panic-struck and trembling upon the throne. Hoomayoon instantly ascending it in his stead, was acknowledged King without further opposition. After these prompt measures, he caused Seif Khan, the whole contriver of the plot, to be dragged through the city chained to the foot of an elephant, and directed his associate, Hubeeb Oolla to be confined as well as the Prince Hussun Khan, whose eyes he caused to be put out. †

Agreeably to the will of his father, he conferred the office of Vakeel-oos-Sultunut on Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, with the title of Mullik-oot-Toojar, and the government of Beejapoor. Mullik Shah, an officer who claimed descent from Chungiz Khan, was appointed governor of Tulingana, with the title of Khwaja Jehan, he had also an estate in that province, with the rank

* Officers of the bed-chamber, and private apartments.

† Seif Khan suffered death. The Prince was deprived of eye-sight; and Hubeeb-Oolla, on account of the sanctity of his profession, was merely placed in confinement.

of commander of one thousand; and the title of Nizam-ool-Moolk was conferred on the nephew of Imad-ool-Moolk Ghoory, a young nobleman of distinction. Sikundur Khan, son of Julal Khan, a favourite companion of the King before his accession, disappointed at not having the government of Tulingana, left court without taking leave,* and joining his father at Nowlgoond, began to raise troops.

Hoomayoon Shah lost no time in sending Khan Jehan, governor of Berar, who had come to court to congratulate the King on his accession, against Sikundur Khan, but Khan Jehan being defeated, Hoomayoon Shah thought it necessary to march against the rebels in person, not without hopes, that upon his arrival in the vicinity of Nowlgoond, Julal Khan and Sikundur Khan would see their error and submit. In these expectations, however, he was disappointed; for Sikundur Khan made a sudden attack on the King's camp by night, with some success, which induced him on the next day to lay siege to the fort. Sikundur Khan, having great dependence on the attachment and bravery of his troops, marched out to offer battle with eight thousand Deccanies and Rajpoots; but the King, in consideration of their former intimacy and relationship, sent him word that though appearing in arms against his sovereign was a heinous offence, yet

* The etiquette of all Oriental courts requires that public officers should obtain an audience of leave previously to quitting it, if even for a day; and when pemission was not obtained, it was understood the individual was offended, and prepared to revolt.

as he wished not to destroy him, he would grant him free pardon, and confer on him an estate in the province of Dowlutabad. Sikundur Khan returned for answer, that though Hoomayoon was the grandson of Ahmud Shah he was also his grandson by his daughter, consequently his partner in the kingdom of their grandfather, so that he must resign the sovereignty of Tulingana to him, or prepare for battle.*

Hoomayoon Shah, enraged at this insolent language, instantly ordered out the line, to attack. Sikundur Khan did not decline the contest, and repeatedly repulsed the most vigorous charges of the royal army. The action continued long indecisive, till Mullik-oot-Toojar Mahmood Gawan, with the Beejapoor division, and Khwaja Jehan Toork, with the army of Tulingana, charged the right and left wings at the same instant, and the rebels began to give way to the shock. The King, observing their confusion, supported the attack from the centre with five hundred bowmen, and five hundred spearmen, at the head of whom, mounted on an elephant, he rushed on the enemy. This assault was opposed so resolutely, that the King found himself nearly deserted by his followers, who retreated in confusion, while Sikundur Khan, availing himself of the moment, with his spear in the rest, attacked the King personally; when the elephant on which Hoomayoon was mounted

* The inconvenience attending the intermarriage of the royal family with subjects is here fully exhibited, although the pretensions of Sikundur Khan were certainly extravagant and audacious.

seized Sikundur Khan in his trunk, drew him from his horse, and dashed him forcibly on the ground. His followers, who were on full speed to support his charge, unable to stop, rode over him, by which he was crushed to death. On the loss of their chief, the rebel army fled; and the King, rallying his troops, pursued the fugitives, with great slaughter, a considerable distance from the field of battle.

The next day the King commenced the siege of Nowlgoond; and at the end of a week, Julal Khan, seeing no resource but submission, offered to surrender. Through the mediation of Mullik-oot-Toojar and Khwaja Jehan, Julal Khan was pardoned, and threw himself at the King's feet, with an offering of his wealth, accumulated during forty years of high and profitable employment. His life being spared, he was confined in a castle, where he ended his days.

Hoomayoon Shah, on the fall of Nowlgoond, meditated the reduction of the fortress of Dewurconda, belonging to a zemindar of Tulingana, who had lent his support to Sikundur Khan. To accomplish this service, he detached Khwaja Jehan and Nizam-ool-Moolk, while he marched himself to Wurungole. The Tulingas uniting fought several battles in the field, but were on all occasions defeated by Khwaja Jehan; and at length retired within the fortress, which was closely besieged on every side, though situated among high mountains and difficult woods. The Tulingas, on this occasion, applied for assistance to the Ray of Orissa, who being tempted by offers of

great sums of money sent a considerable body of troops, with several war-elephants, to the support of the Tulingas, promising to advance quickly himself with his whole force. The Tulingas, inspired by these hopes, held out obstinately; and the two generals, hearing of the approach of the expected reinforcements, became doubtful how to act. Nizam-ool-Moolk proposed raising the siege and marching out of the hills and passes, in order to engage the auxiliaries to advantage on the plain, and prevent their junction. To this measure Khwaja Jehan objected; saying, that the Tulingas would attribute a retreat to fear, and issuing from the fortress would attack them on their march; so that it was better to continue the siege, and make preparations to oppose the junction of the reinforcement on the spot. On the next day the troops of Orissa arrived; and the Tulingas sallying from the fort, both attacked the King's forces at the same instant, whose cavalry being unable to act, from the nature of the ground, a total defeat was sustained by the Mahomedans. The two generals effected their escape with the greatest difficulty from the field; nor did they halt till they reached Wurungole, being pursued for eighty miles by the enemy. Hoomayoon Shah, on enquiring into the cause of the disaster, was falsely informed by Khwaja Jehan, in order to save his own life, that he acted by the advice of Nizam-ool-Moolk, although that general entirely disapproved of the measure; and the King, in his rage, without further examination, caused that gallant nobleman to be put to death; while his relatives

and followers flying, enlisted into the service of Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa. Khwaja Jehan was also disgraced, and sent close prisoner to a fortress.

Hoomayoon Shah, determined on wiping away the disgrace sustained by his troops, was busily preparing a fresh army to go against Dewurconda, when advices were brought him from the capital, that one Yoosoof Toork having set at liberty the blind Prince Hussun Khan and Shah Hubeeb Oolla, had fled with them into the country of Kandeish. The King, losing all patience, left his minister, Mahmood Gawan, to protect Tulingana, and returned in the year 864 by forced marches to his capital, where his wrath knew no bounds. But it is necessary, before his cruelties are recorded, to mention their original cause.

A. H. 864.
A. D. 1459.

Shah Hubeeb Oolla, an eminent divine, had been imprisoned for his attachment to the Prince Hussun Khan. On the occasion of the King's marching against Sikundur Khan, towards Nowlgoond, seven of the Shah's disciples formed the resolution of releasing him at all hazards. For this purpose, they addressed one Yoosoof, a Toorky slave* of the late

*The King's body-guard was composed usually of purchased slaves, who were treated with great distinction, and frequently rose to eminence. From this guard the King selected his aide-de-camps and confidential personal attendants; and they were taught to look up to the monarch alone for their future success in life. The practice has always prevailed in the eastern courts; and in the instances of the Prætorian bands under the Roman emperors, the Swiss guards of France, and the Janissaries of Constantinople, we have abundant proofs of the fondness of absolute monarchs for such instruments of power and protection.

Alla-ood-Deen Shah. Yoosoof was a man generally esteemed, and celebrated for his virtue, integrity, piety, and extensive charities; he was besides, a firm disciple and friend of Shah Hubeeb Oolla. This officer promised his aid, and corrupted some of the guards and door-keepers of the palace. The number of the confederacy was limited to twelve horsemen and fifty foot, all bent upon sacrificing their lives to the service of Shah Hubeeb Oolla. Conceiving their project ripe for execution, Yoosoof went one evening with his friends to the gate of the seraglio in which the prisoners were confined. Most of the guards were absent, but he was questioned by the few on duty. Yoosoof replied, that he had the King's commands to enter the prison and blind such and such criminals, producing a forged order in support of his assertion; on seeing which, the guard suffered him to pass. On his reaching the second gate, another guard refused to admit him; for though he showed the royal commission, the kotwal's order was also necessary before entrance could be obtained; upon which, Yoosoof and his band dreading discovery rushed upon the guard, and putting them to death, passed on. Yoosoof first proceeded to the apartments of the state-prisoners, and took off the chains from Shah Hubeeb Oolla; and the Princes Hussun Khan and Yehya Khan, sons of the late King, as also Julal Khan Bokhary,* entreated him to break their chains, and take them with him, to which he

* The King's relative, and father to the Prince Sikundur Khan, who had disputed the crown in the early part of the reign.

consented. After this, having gone into every apartment, he invited all those who chose to be freed from captivity to repair to the gate of the palace and join him. About seven thousand unfortunate captives of all conditions rose upon their keepers, and arming themselves with clubs or whatever came to hand, ranged themselves at the gate as directed. By this time, the kotwal of the city, having heard the alrm, advanced to the palace with the city guards; but the captives, rendered desperate, received them so warmly with showers of stones and clubs, that they were driven back. The prisoners, during the night, dispersed to different quarters among their friends; but Julal Khan, who was nearly eighty years old, and the Prince Yehya Khan, fell into the kotwal's hands in a few hours, and suffered death. The Prince Hussun Khan, and Shah Hubeeb Oolla, took shelter in the house of a barbar, where they shaved their beards, and assumed the garb of beggars. Shah Hubeeb Oolla recommended that they should quit the country; but the Prince flattered himself, that the people in general, disgusted with his brother's cruelty, were attached to him, and that it was likely he could soon raise an army and recover the throne. Shah Hubeeb Oolla having consented to assist his designs, they both left Bidur, and got some distance from the city. The Prince Hussun Khan now made himself known, and was joined by adventurers and disaffected persons from all quarters. Among others, was his deliverer Yoosoof Toork. In a few days, the Prince raised an army of three thousand horse and five thousand foot,

with which he advanced to the fortified palace and garden of Kumtana, only six miles from the capital, in hopes of being able to take it. Finding this measure more difficult than he at first imagined, he retreated to the town of Beer,* of which he took possession, together with the country around, and continued to levy fresh troops. Such was the state of affairs when the King arrived at Ahmudabad Bidur with his army.

The King's first act was to punish the neglect of the city guard, all of whom, to the number of two thousand, he put to death with cruel torture. He also caused the kotwal to be confined in an iron cage, every day cutting off some member of his body, which he obliged him to eat, so that he very shortly died. Meanwhile he detached an army of eight thousand horse and foot against the Prince, who at first was successful. On hearing this, the King's fury knew no bounds. He reinforced his army with more troops; but seizing on the women and children of the officers, threatened to put these hostages to death if the army should be defeated, or the officers desert to the Prince, Hussun Khan.

In the next battle the Prince suffered a total defeat; and Hussun Khan, after a desperate resistance, quitted the field with his adherents, hoping to find an asylum at Beejanuggur. Upon his arrival near the fort of Beejapur, with about eight hundred horse, the governor, Siraj Khan

* Beer was at this time in the hands of the descendants of Shah Neamut Oolla, who were naturally well disposed to Shah Hubeeb Oolla.

Jooneidy, sent out a message to invite him in, declaring that he would give up the fort and all its dependencies into his hands. Hussun Khan, by the advice of Shah Hubeeb Oolla and Yoosoof Toork, entered the fort of Beejapoor. This fort was then only built of mud. Siraj Khan received the party with apparent respect and attention. At night-fall, however, coming with his attendants to the Prince's apartment, under pretence of paying his respects, he surrounded it, and on the next day attempted to secure the persons of his guests. Shah Hubeeb Oolla suffered martyrdom in making resistance. At length the Prince Hussun Khan, Yoosoof Toork, and his other followers, even to his tent pitchers, watermen, and sweepers, were seized and sent prisoners by Siraj Khan under a strong escort, to Ahmudabad Bidur.

Hoomayoon Shah, now abandoning himself to the full indulgence of his cruel propensities, and mad with rage, directed stakes to be set up on both sides of the King's chowk, or market-place, and caused vicious elephants and wild beasts to be placed in different parts of the square, in other places cauldrons of scalding oil and boiling water were also prepared as instruments of torture. The King, ascending a balcony in order to glut his eyes on the spectacle, first cast his brother, Hussun Khan, before a ferocious tiger, who soon tore the wretched Prince to pieces, and devoured him on the spot. Yoosoof Toork, and his seven associates, were then beheaded in the King's presence, and the females of their innocent and helpless families, being dragged from their houses,

were violated and ill treated in the palace-square, by ruffians, in a manner too indecent to relate. Tortures were now invented by the King, who inflicted on both young and old of both sexes torments more cruel than ever entered the imagination of Zohak* and the tyrant Hijaj.† About seven thousand persons, including females and servants, none of whom had the most distant concern in this rebellion, besides the menials, such as cooks, scullions, and others, were put to death; some being stabbed with daggers, others hewn in pieces with hatchets, and the rest flayed by scalding oil or boiling water. This tragedy happened in the month of Shaban, in the same year as the rebellion.

Shaban, A. H. 864. August, A. D. 1460.

The author of the Towareekh Mahmood Shahy states, he learned from the royal attendants, that upon the King's first hearing of the escape of the Prince Hussun Khan rage and passion so overcame him, he tore his robes, bit his pillows, and often his own lips, in such a manner that they dropped with blood. Alarmed at the example of Hussun Khan, he put to death several innocent persons of the royal family who were confined in different fortresses. Nor did his suspicions rest here; many other persons of his own court fell the innocent victims of his indiscriminate cruelty. From this moment Hoomayoon threw off all restraint, and

* An ancient king of Persia, who is said to have sold himself to the devil, and who, in consequence, was afflicted by two serpents, who, rising out of his shoulders, demanded to be fed on human brains daily.

† A barbarous tyrant of Arabia.

seized at will the children of his subjects, tearing them from their parents to gratify his passions. He would frequently stop nuptial processions in the street, and seizing the bride, after enjoying her, send her to the bridegroom's house. He was in the habit of putting the females of his own house to death for the most trivial offences; and when any of the nobility were obliged to attend him, so great was their dread, that they took leave of their families, as if preparing for death.

At length the Almighty took pity on the sufferings of his people, and listened to the complaints of the wretched. The tyrant was taken ill, and judging he should die, appointed his eldest son, Nizam Shah, then only eight years of age, his successor; and having summoned Khwaja Jehan Toork from Berar, and Khwaja Mahmood Gawan from Tulingana, made his will, constituting them a council of regency, and guardians to his son during his minority, commanding them strictly, at the same time, to transact no business without the cognisance of the Queen-mother. He died on the 28th of Zeekad, 865, according to some, but others relate that he recovered from this illness, and was assassinated during a fit of intoxication by his own servants, who were wearied out with his inhuman cruelties. His reign lasted three years, six months, and six days.

Zeekad 28. A. H. 865. Sept. 3. A. D. 1461.

NIZAM SHAH BAHMUNY.

The Queen-mother, Khwaja Jehan, and Mahmood Gawan, form a regency during the King's minority.—The kingdom attacked by the rajas of Tulingana and Orissa, who are compelled to retreat.—Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa invades the Deccan.—The Deccan army defeated.—The King retires to Bidur.—The Malwa army advances.—The King retires to Ferozabad.—The city of Bidur occupied by the King of Malwa.—The King of Guzerat marches to assist the Deccanies.—The King of Malwa retreats—his army suffers severely—he is compelled to abandon his heavy baggage—retires through the hills of Gondwana—his troops endure the greatest distress.—The Guzerat army retires.—Second invasion by the King of Malwa.—Advance of the army of Guzerat.—The King of Malwa retires.—Sudden death of the young King of the Deccan.

WHEN, out of pity to mankind, the Almighty had removed Hoomayoon the Cruel from the world, and his son Nizam Shah succeeded to the throne of the Deccan, the Queen-mother acted as regent. She was a woman of great abilities herself ; but she did nothing without consulting Khwaja Jehan and Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, admitting no other nobles to share in the administration. Mahmood Gawan, who held the government of Berar, was appointed vizier, and Khwaja Jehan assumed the office of Vakeel-oos-Sultunut, and was made governor of Tulingana. These two ministers attended every morning at the

palace, and communicated, through a female, with the Queen-mother, who, after giving her approbation, sent the young King to the hall of audience, where he sat on the throne. On his right hand stood Khwaja Jehan, and upon the left, Mahmood Gawan. These officers gave orders and transacted business in his presence. By the happy co-operation and unanimity of these three personages, the injuries occasioned by the tyranny of the late king were soon repaired; but the surrounding potentates, both Mussulmans and Hindoos, hearing that the throne of the Deccan was filled by a child, and that the nobles and officers were disaffected, owing to the cruelties of their late sovereign, conceived the design of encroaching on his dominions. In the first instance, the rays of Orissa, in conjunction with the zemindars of Tulingana, invaded the kingdom by the route of Rajmundry, plundering and laying waste the country as far as Kowlas. The Queen-mother and the ministers, in no wise dismayed, collected an army of forty thousand men, and marched with the young monarch to oppose the enemy. The Ray of Orissa advanced to within six miles of the royal army, and within ten of the capital of Ahmudabad Bidur, it being his design to demand restitution of the country of Tulingana, and to exact tribute from the infant King. The two ministers, in reply to a communication of this nature, said, that their master had designed to invade and conquer Orissa and Jajnuggur;* but

* Jajnuggur, on the Mahanudda, the ancient capital of Orissa.

since the Raja had himself come so far with his army, the King would be able to effect the object of defeating him, without the trouble of marching to those distant countries; moreover, that the King had resolved not to allow a man of the enemy to escape, unless the amount of the injuries done to his dominions should be repaired, and the Raja agree to pay tribute. With this message, Shah Mohib Oolla* was despatched; but his escort of one hundred and sixty horsemen being stopped by the infidels, he charged the Ray's advanced picquets so boldly, that supposing the whole army was in motion, the Hindoos fell back on their main body, and the rays of Orissa and Tulingana leaving their heavy baggage on the ground, retreated during the night. Khwaja Jehan went in pursuit next day, while the King and Mahmood Gawan made easy marches after him.† The rays, finding that they lost two or three thousand men in every day's march, owing to the activity of Khwaja Jehan, took protection in a fort;‡ from whence they sent to the minister, Mahmood Gawan, entreating pardon; and after much debate, and on paying a large sum of money, they were permitted to retreat without further

* Shah Mohib Oolla was the grandson of the celebrated Shah Neamut Oolla of Kirman.

† Ferishta, in so hastily adopting the language of Moolla Dawood of Bidur, and the other chroniclers of the Bahmuny dynasty, has exercised, neither discretion nor even much research, in not endeavouring to account for the sudden retreat of the Hindoos; for it is absurd to suppose, that the mere appearance of one hundred and sixty men would alone have broken up a confederacy which seems to have been so seriously formed for the recovery of Tulingana.

‡ Ferishta does not mention the name of the fort.

molestation into their own territories. Nizam Shah Bahmuny returned in triumph to his capital; and having conferred honours and rewards on the officers and soldiers, permitted them to retire to their several stations.

Soon after this campaign, Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa invaded the Bahmuny territories, by the route of Kandeish, with twenty-eight thousand horse; and the rays of Orissa and Tulingana, having again taken the field, renewed their depredations on the countries of Islam. The ministers, accordingly, ordered the Tulingana division to protect that province against the Hindoos; and taking Nizam Shah with them, they marched with the forces of Beejapoor, Dowlutabad, and Berar, against Sooltan Mahmood.

Nizam Shah, in spite of his extreme youth, appeared at the head of his army. Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, with ten thousand horse, formed the right wing, and Nizam-ool-Moolk Toork, with other chieftains, composed the left wing, while the King remained with Khwaja Jehan, and Sikundur Khan, his foster-brother, in the centre, which consisted of eleven thousand cavalry and one hundred war-elephants. Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa committed the charge of his right wing to his son the Prince Gheias-ood-Deen, and the left to Mahabut Khan, governor of Chundery, supported by Zuheer-ool-Moolk, himself taking command in person of his best troops, which composed the centre.

Khwaja Mahmood Gawan began the battle by an attack on the enemy's left, which, after

some resistance, broke and fled, Mahabut Khan and Zuheer-ool-Moolk of Malwa being both killed. Nizam-ool-Moolk Toork, with the left wing, charged the right of the Malwa army under the Prince Gheias-ood-Deen, who had gained the character of a brave soldier throughout Hindoostan. While the troops of both armies were intermingled, the two generals came in contact hand to hand with each other; when Nizam-ool-Moolk's sword being shivered to pieces, he threw the hilt* into the face of his antagonist with such violence as to wound him severely in the eye, which bleeding exceedingly, he fell from his horse in agony. The troops of Malwa, seeing their leader fall, became disheartened, as is usual on such occasions, and fled. They were pursued four miles by the Deccanies, who having committed much slaughter, took a vast booty, together with fifty elephants. Sooltan mahmood of Malwa, on witnessing the retreat of both wings of his army, prepared to follow their example; but another of his sons, and some of his nobles, dissuading him, he awaited the assault of Khwaja Jehan, who charged with ten thousand horse. On this occasion, Sooltan Mahmood having struck the elephant of Sikundur Khan Toork in the head with an arrow, the huge animal, mad with pain, turning round, trod down many of the troops of the army to which he belonged, and had nearly seized Nizam Shah

*The hilts of the swords were made of solid steel, and were heavy, in order to counterbalance the weight of the thick sword blades.

himself.* Sikundur Khan, either from fear, or out of enmity to Khwaja Jehan, drew off his troops and carried the King with him to a little distance from the field of battle; on which, the Deccanies perceiving the royal standard † withdrawn, fled, and did not stop till they reached the capital. Khwaja Jehan, finding that the right and left wings had gone in pursuit, and that the King with the Deccanies had fled, thought it prudent also to retire, which he effected with such order, that he brought back his division and the royal horses and elephants to Ahmudabad Bidur. Khwaja Mahmood Gawan and his troops, on viewing this strange reverse of fortune, retreated also. Sikundur Khan Toork on his arrival at the capital was at first rewarded by the Queen-mother for bringing her son off the field in safety; but on her learning the truth from Khwaja Jehan, Sikundur Khan was confined for his cowardice, and for disgracing the King by taking him from the field at a moment when he was on the point of gaining a victory. The friends of Sikundur Khan defended him by affirming, that he had in fact saved the King from destruction, as the two wings had dispersed to

* Elephants, when enraged, become furious, and not unfrequently attack each other. The translator once witnessed an instance of this nature, in which it was not without the utmost exertion of the drivers of both elephants that the persons riding on that which was attacked escaped from being torn to pieces.

† The royal standard, borne on an elephant, always attends the King when in the field; and it is too well known how the absence of this emblem usually decides the fate of Indian armies. Now where each regiment or brigade has a standard, and even each gun, the courage of an army is not so readily affected.

plunder, and no troops remained about the royal person; declaring that they (the Deccanies) would no longer submit to be ill used by the Moguls, who had usurped the guidance of the state. The nature of the times not allowing of his punishment, Khwaja Jehan was induced to consent to Sikundur Khan's enlargement from arrest.

Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa, hearing of these dissensions and the aversion of the Deccanies to the ministers, marched on to besiege Ahmudabad Bidur. The Queen entertained suspicions of Khwaja Jehan, to whose remissness she chiefly attributed the late defeat. She was supported in this opinion by Khwaja Mahmood Gawan; and by his advice she committed the charge of the citadel of Bidur to Mulloo Khan Deccany, and retired with the King to Ferozabad. Sooltan Mahmood obtained possession of the city* in seventeen days after the King's departure; a great part of the country also submitted to his authority; and it was the general opinion, that the dominion of the house of Bahmuny would pass into the hands of the Khiljies, when accounts were received of the advance of Mahmood Shah of Guzerat. Nizam Shah had, previously to his retreat, by the advice of Mahmood Gawan, deputed ambassadors to request the aid of the King of Guzerat; and in the mean time, collecting his scattered forces in order to defend himself, sent out detachments to harass the enemy. The King of Guzerat had now reached the frontier with an

* The citadel or fort still held out.

army of eighty thousand horse; and the Queen-mother having despatched Khwaja Mahmood Gawan to welcome him, Mahmood Shah of Guzerat placed a division of twenty thousand cavalry and some of his principal officers at his disposal; and the allied armies, in a short time, moved simultaneously towards the capital.*

Sooltan Mahmood,† who had been unable to take the citadel of Bidur, on hearing of the approach of the allies, raised the siege, and retreated with precipitation towards Malwa. Khwaja Mahmood Gawan detached ten thousand Deccany cavalry to harass the enemy's retreat, if he took the route of Berar, while he himself marched with ten thousand men to a position lying between Kand'har and Beer; so that the Malwa troops were exposed to be intercepted in all quarters, while the light Deccany skirmishers engaging their foraging parties cut off their supplies. Sooltan Mahmood, who, according to the best accounts, had nearly thirty thousand horse, frequently tried

*The jealousy of proximate states of each other's aggrandisement seems, at all times, to check the extension of their power. The balance so repeatedly restored, and so narrowly watched, by the states of Europe, seems to have been equally regarded by the Mahomedans; and it was only when their imbecility became general, that they fell to the dominion of the Moguls.

†It will be observed that care has been taken to distinguish the several Mahmoods now mentioned: the title of Sooltan is always prefixed to the name of the King of Malwa, while that of Shah is affixed to the King of Guzerat; whereas the Deccany minister has his peculiar appellations of Khwaja and Gawan.

to bring on an action; but the minister was not to be diverted from his original plan of warfare, till at length the Malwa troops were reduced to the utmost distress for food, and the King of Malwa was obliged to listen with patience to the clamours of his mutinous army.

In this exigency, having killed numbers of his elephants and set fire to his heavy baggage, he moved unencumbered towards Gondwana; to the confines of which country he was pursued, and so harassed by Mahmood Gawan, that he lost vast numbers of his men and great part of his remaining baggage. On reaching Gondwana, Sooltan Mahmood pervailed on one of the zemindars of that country to conduct him by a route which should prevent the pursuit of the Deccany troops, and admit of his fatigued army marching without molestation. In vain was it represented, that the direct road could supply but little water for some stages. The King, not sufficiently calculating this difficulty in contemplating escape from a pursuing enemy, took that route. On the very first march, owing to the scorching winds and want of water,* about six thousand men perished miserably; and on the next, the natives of the mountains, taking advantage of the distresses of

* It is impossible to convey to the mind of one who has never suffered from thirst and heat in a tropical climate the horrid sensations which may be brought on even in a few hours. The numerous victims to long marches without water, which sometimes occur even in British armies in the East, point out the importance of previously ascertaining that an ample supply exists at each stage.

the army, plundered the followers; for the soldiers, dispirited by their sufferings, afforded them little protection. On that day, a single cup of water sold for two rupees, and frequently was not to be had for money. When Sooltan Mahmood, after enduring inexpressible hardships, had at length wound out his way from this dreadful labyrinth, suspecting that the distress had originated from the treachery of his guide, he commanded him to be put to death. The Gond chief, disregarding life, abused the King, boasting that, at all events, he had anticipated revenge, by destroying twelve thousand men by thirst, and that his death was of no consequence, as he had three sons, and should himself be soon transmigrated into one of their offspring. From this speech, we learn that the Gonds,* like the Hindoos, believe in the transmigration of souls, which makes them less anxious about life, since they imagine that good actions will ensure their speedy re-animation in a future state.

Sooltan Mahmood, before the fall of the city of Ahmudabad Bidur, permitted his soldiers to indulge in every excess incident to warfare; but when he had resolved on establishing himself in the Deccan he changed his conduct, and treated the inhabitants as if they were his own subjects. He was at all times particular in regulating his

* Ferishta appears to be aware that the Gonds were not Hindoos, a fact which is but little known to Indians in general, and to Europeans in particular. It is to be hoped that Mr. Richard Jenkins, who has devoted much time and labour to this interesting subject, will favour the world with the result of his researches.

dress and diet, agreeably to the holy laws concerning things pure and impure. On this account he procured his rice, wheat, oil, and other necessaries, for his table, when in the field even, from certain farms in his own dominions, and carried vegetables planted in wooden frames, filled with soil, along with him wherever he marched. During his stay at Ahmudabad Bidur, he sent for Mowlana Shums-ood-Deen, a holy man who attended the tomb of Shah Khuleel Oolla, to whom he complained of being distressed for vegetables, desiring that he would recommend him to some gardener, whose land was his own, in order that, agreeably to the orthodox laws, he might purchase them from him at any price. The Mowlana replied, "Your Majesty must surely be in "jest: it is the height of hypocrisy to invade the "territories of true believers, to lay waste their "country and houses, and to rob them of their "property, and then to pretend punctilio on the "trifling points of the law, as regard dress and "diet." Sooltan Mahmood, it is said, acknowledged the justice of the rebuke, and shed tears, but observed, that kingdoms could not exist without recourse to many actions apparently inconsistent.

After the retreat of the King of Malwa, Nizam Shah despatched ambassadors to Mahmood Shah of Guzerat, with valuable presents, returning many thanks for the friendly part he had acted. Mahmood Shah returned to Guzerat, and Nizam Shah to the capital of Ahmudabad Bidur. The King of Malwa invaded the Deccan in the following year, and advanced as far as Dowlutabad;

A. H. 866. A. D. 1462. but was again obliged to retreat, owing to the timely assistance afforded by the King of Guzerat a second time.

It being the custom of the house of Bahmuny for children to marry in their early years, the Queen-mother procured a wife for her son among her own relatives, and prepared the nuptial feast with due magnificence and pomp. On that very night, when the assembly of mirth was full, and the court rang with feasting and joy, screams issued suddenly from the royal apartments; and the voice of lamentation proclaimed with loud cries that Nizam Shah had departed this life. This unblown blossom of the plant of royalty was suddenly nipped by a destructive blast; the down of beauty had not yet diffused itself over the flower, when death struck it with the blight of annihilation. This event happened on the night of the 13th of Zeekad, 867, just two years and one month after the Prince's accession to the throne.

Zeekad 13. A. H. 867. July 29. A. D. 1463.

MAHOMED SHAH BAHMUNY II.

Accession of Mahomed Shah, the son of Hoomayoon the Cruel.—The Deccan army takes Kehrla from the King of Malwa.—Kehrla restored, and peace concluded.—Khwaja Mahmood Gawan invades the Concan—takes Kehlna and Ramgur—ascends the table land, and passes the monsoon at Kolapoor—returns to the Concan—takes Goa—leaves Kishwur Khan in charge of the new conquests, and proceeds to the capital.—Honourable reception of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan.—The King takes the field—reduces Rajmundry and Condapilly in Tulingana.—Nizam-ool-Moolk Bhyry appointed governor of Tulingana.—Yoosoof Adil Khan governor of Dowlutabad—Duria Imad-ool-Moolk governor of Berar.—The King marches to the westward, and reduces Belgam.—Severe famine and drought in the Deccan—Revolt in Tulingana—The King marches to suppress it—he proceeds to Orissa—returns to the south, and plunders Conjeveram.—Plot against the minister Khwaja Mahmood Gawan.—The King is imposed on by a forgery.—Khwaja Mahmood executed—character of the minister.—The King discovers his error, and repents—his nobles desert the camp.—The King falls sick of a fever—becomes convalescent—indulges in wine, which brings on a relapse, and he dies.

MAHOMED SHAH * ascended the throne of the Deccan in his ninth year; and the affairs of government were conducted as in the reign of his late brother, by Khwaja Jehan and Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, under the direction of the Queen-mother. Ahmud, the King's younger brother, had an ample

* Hoomayoon the Cruel left three sons, Nizam, Mahomed, and Ahmud.

separate establishment for his support. Khwaja Jehan took the especial charge of the King's education, who made great progress in his studies under Sudr-Jehan Shoostery, a celebrated scholar of that age, so that, next to Feroze Shah, he became the most learned prince that ever filled the Bahmuny throne. Khwaja Jehan, acquiring great power and influence in every department of the estate, usurped the sole direction of affairs. He deprived many old nobles of their estates, giving them to creatures of his own elevation ; and he also peculated largely out of the royal treasury, contriving to keep his colleague, Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, employed on the frontiers, so that he could interfere but little in the administration. The Queen-mother, a woman of great penetration, jealous of the unlimited power of this minister, urged the King to destroy him. For which purpose she made her son promise, on Khwaja Jehan's coming to court next day, to order him to be put to death. Khwaja Jehan attended according to custom, but his suspicion was roused by the appearance of Nizam-ool-Moolk Toork with some guards. He found, however, it was too late to retire, and as usual took his place near the King. Shortly after, two female servants appearing, said to the King in a loud voice, "The Queen expects your "Majesty to perform your promise to her." Upon which the King, turning to Nizam-ool-Moolk, exclaimed, "That wretch is a traitor ; put him to death." Nizam-ool-Moolk, who was inimical to Khwaja Jehan, and who had been prepared for the duty, dragged him from his place, and cut

him down with his sabre in the King's presence.*

After some days, Mahomed Shah having sent for Mahmood Gawan, conferred on him the title of Khwaja Jehan, adding the duties of Vakeel-oos-Sultunut to his other functions. On the King attaining his fourteenth year, his marriage with a princess of his own family was celebrated with great splendour, and the Queen-mother, having withdrawn from public affairs, betook herself to a life of devotion. She was, however, still consulted on matters of importance, and the King waited on her every day to pay his respects. After his emancipation from the tutelage of his mother and the minister, one of the King's first acts was to make war on his neighbours. To which end, having appointed Nizam-ool-Moolk governor of Berar, he commanded him to proceed with a powerful army, in the year 872, against the fortress of Kehrla, then in possession of the King of Malwa. Nizam-ool-Moolk laid siege to Kehrla, and several times defeated the reinforcements sent to relieve it On the last occasion a very obstinate engagement occurred, in which twelve thousand Rajpoots and Afghans fought desperately in the Malwa army, and great numbers were slain

A. H. 872.
A. D. 1467.

* Ferishta does not mention the date when this tragical scene happened. The King was only eight years of age when he ascended the throne, and his marriage, at the age of fourteen, did not take place till after the death of Khwaja Jehan. The circumstance, therefore, must have occurred while the King was yet a mere boy; but it only shows at how early an age Asiatic despots are taught to become familiar with such sanguinary executions.

on both sides; victory, however in the end, declared in favour of the Deccanies, who pursuing a part of the garrison into the fort whence they had sallied, entered the gates with the fugitives,* and obtained possession of the place. According to the custom of the common soldiers of the Deccan, the victors gave abusive language to the conquered garrison, which so exasperated two Rajpoot brothers, that they resolved to prove to their enemies they were not deficient, at all events, in courage. When the confusion was over, and the Malwites had evacuated the fort, the two Rajpoots addressed Nizam-ool-Moolk's attendants, saying, that though they had passed their whole lives in the army, and seen many brave men, they had beheld none equal to him, and they solicited permission to kiss his feet before they departed. Nizam-ool-Moolk, observing they were unarmed, ordered them to approach, upon which they came up in a submissive manner; but turning suddenly, and snatching the sabres from the hands of the nearest guards, one of them inflicted a mortal wound on Nizam-ool-Moolk, after which they defended themselves desperately, till they were both hewn in pieces. Nizam-ool-Moolk had two adopted brothers, Yoosoof Adil Khan Savaee, and Duria Khan Toork, who after establishing a strong garrison in the fort, took the general's body, and marched with a valuable booty to court. The King, approving their services, raised each of them

* This mode of terminating a siege has been often practised with success, and is one of the greatest risks attendant on sallies by the besieged.

to the rank of commanders of a thousand, with the fortress of Kehrla and its dependencies in jageer.*

The King of Malwa, perceiving the spirit of the Deccanies to be unshaken, and fearful of their resentment for the injuries sustained in the late reign, sent an ambassador, named Shureef-ool-Moolk, with valuable presents to Mahomed Shah's court. This nobleman represented that Sooltan Hooshung had entered into a solemn compact with Ahmud Shah Bahmuny; by which it had been stipulated that the province of Berar should belong to the King of the Deccan, while the fortress of Kehrla should remain in the hands of the King of Malwa, and that a lasting peace should subsist between them and their heirs for ever. The ambassador represented, that the Deccan troops had now seized the fortress of Kehrla, and it was, therefore, required that Mahomed Shah should abide by the treaty alluded to, and spare the subjects of both states from the calamities of war.

Mahomed Shah despatched Sheikh Ahmud Sudr, to return with Shureef-ool-Moolk, to Mando with a letter, stating, that he was well disposed to adhere to the former alliance; observing, that while the Carnatic abounded on all sides with strong holds possessed by infidels, he had no occasion to employ his arms against the fortress

* The revenues and management of frontier provinces were frequently consigned to military nobles, in other to ensure their defence against external attack; but the policy too frequently led to the rebellion of the officers appointed to govern them.

of Kehrla. He praised God, he added, that the breach of the treaty had not commenced on the part of the house of Bahmuny ; it being clear, that in the late reign of his brother, an infant, the King of Malwa, taking advantage of the weakness of his administration, had committed such outrages on the possessions of the faithful as had not been perpetrated even by the ferocious Chungiz Khan in his conquests. In conclusion he said, that as what was passed could not be recalled, he had deputed Sheikh Ahmud, a zealous promoter of peace among the faithful, to the court of Malwa, and that he was prepared to fulfil whatever engagements that holy personage should enter into. Sheikh Ahmud was met near Mando by a deputation of the principal nobles, and conducted with much respect and ceremony into the city; where, being introduced to Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy, he delivered his credentials, and the King's letter. The Malwites were ready to acknowledge that the breach of the treaty originated with themselves; but they hoped that the Almighty, out of his abundant mercy and goodness, would not call them to account for it. Sooltan Mahmood declared publicly that he had been to blame, but hoped it would be forgotten ; and he trusted that such a treaty might now be formed, that his successors and those of Bahmuny would, in future, never act hostilely towards each other. Sheikh Ahmud, on the part of Mahomed Shah, and the Sheikh-ool-Islam, a learned divine, on the part of Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy, drew up a treaty, to which were affixed their seals, as also those of

several other holy men of both states. Both princes wrote on the margin in their own hands, "Let "whosoever deviates from the contents of the "treaty be cursed by God, and rejected by the Prophet." The substance of this treaty was, 1. "That both parties should refrain from molesting "each other's dominions." 2. "That the fortress "of Kehrla, as in the reign of Sooltan Ahmud "Shah the Just, should be delivered up to the King of Malwa." And, 3. "That whatever "countries might be conquered from the Hindoos "by either state should not be coveted by the other." The negotiation being at an end, Sheikh Ahmud wrote an order to the governor of Kehrla to deliver up that fortress to the deputies of the King of Malwa. After which he returned to the Deccan; and there never, subsequently, happened any contentions between these two states.

A. H. 874.
A. D. 1469.

In the beginning of the year 874, Mahmood Gawan, the minister,* marched with a powerful army against Shunkur Ray of Kehlna, and other refractory rajas in the Concan. The troops of Joonere, Chakun, Kolhar, Dabul, Choul, Waee, and Man, and other parts, were ordered to join him on this service. Shunkur Ray of Kehlna † constantly

* He bore the titles of Mullik-oot-Toojar, the Chief of the Merchants, and Khwaja Jehan. It affords a pleasing example of the state of civilisation, when it was deemed the highest honour in the state to be entitled Chief of the Merchants.

† It will be recollected, that it was the Raja of the fort of Kehlna, the modern Vishalgur, who effected the destruction of the Mahomedan army on a former occasion.

maintained a fleet of three hundred vessels, and interrupted the traffic of the Mahomedans. Upon the report of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan's approach, the infidels contracted defensive alliances with each other, and assembled in great numbers at the head of the passes, but Mahmood Gawan, by degrees, forced all their positions. Finding his cavalry useless in the mountainous country, he sent back the horse he had brought from the capital, and contented himself with the troops under Asud Khan Geelany, with the Joonere division, and his own dependents under Khoosh Kuddum, with the troops from Kolhar and Dabul. With this army he made his way by means of fire and the axe through the woods. He lay five months before the fort of Kehlna without reducing it, and the rains setting in, compelled him to relinquish the siege; when, committing the passes to the protection of ten thousand infantry inured to the climate, and on whom he could depend, he ascended the mountains, and constructed thatched huts to pass the wet season in the district of Kolapoor, where he conquered the fort of Ramgur. After the rainy season he again descended the passes, and by stratagem and gifts of money, obtained possession of the fortress of Kehlna, which had never, till then, been in the hands of the Mussulmans. On the approach of the monsoon of the following year, he took the same measures as he had done in the former season; and at the expiration of the four wet months, marched into the country of Ray Shunkur, which he reduced, taking ample revenge

A. H. 875.
A. D. 1470.

for the slaughter of the former Mullik-oot-Toojar and his army. Khwaja Mahmood Gawan then moved against the port and island of Goa, belonging to the Ray of Beejanuggur, sending an hundred and twenty vessels to attack it by sea, while he marched with his army against it by land; and before the Ray of Beejanuggur could oppose his design, he made himself master of the place. Mahomed Shah, on receiving information of this important conquest, ordered the nobut to beat the march of triumph* for seven days, and made other rejoicings.

Khwaja Mahmood Gawan having established a strong garrison in the fort of Goa, and supplied it plentifully with stores of every description, returned, after an absence of three years, to the capital of Ahmudabad Bidur. On this occasion, the King condescended to honour him with a visit of a whole week, conferring upon him the highest titles, with a suit of his own robes; and the Queen-mother † gave him the appellation of brother. Khoosh Kuddum, the commander of his own dependents, who had behaved with distinguished gallantry in the different campaigns, was, at the general's recommendation, promoted to high rank, with the title of Kishwur Khan, and the forts of Goa, Poonda, Kundwal, and Kolapoor, were

* This practice prevailed before the use of artillery for salutes and rejoicing.

† The Queen-mother had long retired from public life, though in the present instance she appears to have departed from her resolution, in order to do honour to the successful general after his campaigns.

granted to him in addition to his other estates.* On Mahomed Shah's leaving the house of the minister, Mahmood Gawan, retiring to his chamber, disrobed himself of his splendid dress, threw himself on the ground and wept plenteously; after which he came out, put on the habit of a dervish, and calling together all the most deserving holy and learned men, and Syuds of Ahmudabad Bidur, distributed among them most of his money, jewels, and other wealth, reserving only his elephants, horses, and library; saying, "Praise be to God, I "have escaped temptation, and am now free from "danger."

Moolla Shums-ood-Deen asked him why he had given away every thing but his library, his elephants, and horses? He replied, "When the "King honoured me with a visit, and the Queen-"mother called me brother, my evil passions began "to prevail against my reason; and the struggle "between vice and virtue was so great in my mind, "that I became distressed even in the presence of "his Majesty, who kindly enquired the cause of my "concern. I was obliged to feign illness in excuse "for my conduct; on which the King, advising me "to take some repose, returned to his palace. I "have, therefore," said the minister, "parted with "wealth, the cause of this temptation to evil." His library, he said, he had retained for the use of students, and his elephants and horses he regarded as the King's, lent to him only for a season. After this day, the minister always wore plain apparel;

* Khoosh Kuddum, now entitled Kishwur Khan, had formerly charge of Dabul and Kolhar.

and when at leisure from state affairs, retired to his own mosque and college, where he spent his time in the society of the learned, and persons eminent for pity and virtue. On Friday night, he went disguised through the different wards of the city, and distributed alms to the poor, saying, as he gave them, "This is sent by the King." Notwithstanding this conduct, the people of the Deccan ever prone to wickedness and intrigue, accused this virtuous minister of corruption, and brought him to an untimely end, as will be hereafter related.

A. H. 876.
A. D. 1471.

In the year 876, Ambur Ray, cousin to the Ray of Oorea,* complained to Mahomed Shah, that the Ray being dead, Mungul Ray, a bramin, his adopted son, had usurped the government in defiance of his prior claim to its inheritance; and Ambur Ray now promised, if the King would assist him with troops to regain his right, he would become his tributary. Mahomed Shah, who had a great desire to possess the territory of Oorea, including Rajmundry and Condapilly, thought this request favourable to his views; and by the advice of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan having conferred the title of Nizam-ool-Moolk on Mullik Hussun Bheiry, directed him to proceed with a considerable army to that quarter. On the borders of Orissa, he was joined by Ambur Ray with his troops, who became the guide of the army against Mungul Ray. The usurper was defeated, and Ambur Ray placed in possession of his hereditary dominions. Nizam-ool-Moolk, accompanied by

* Ooreadese, or Orissa.

Ambur Ray, now proceeded against Condapilly and Rajmundry, both which places he reduced, and by the orders of Mahomed Shah, having established proper military garrisons to ensure their security, he permited Ambur Ray to depart to his own country, himself returning with much booty to court. On this occasion, Nizam-ool-Moolk, at the recommendation of the Queen-mother and Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, was confirmed in the government of all Tulingana. At the same time, also, Duria Khan, entitled Imad-ool-Moolk, was appointed governor of Berar, and Yoosoof Adil Khan Savaee, one of the followers of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, eminent for many great qualities,and whom the minister had adopted as his son, was nominated to the government of Dowlutabad, the most important post in the state. Mahomed Shah, confiding in the abilities of Yoosoof Adil Khan, directed him to reduce the fortress of Wyragur,* and to recover that of Antoor, which during the Malwa invasion had fallen into the possession of a Mahratta chief, who did not pay proper submission. Yoosoof Adil Khan, on reaching Dowlutabad, despatched Kasim Beg Suf-Shikun † to reduce Antoor, and Duria Khan against Wyragur. The chief of the former delivered it up without opposition on promise of

* Probably Woshagur, lying between Antoor and Ajunta.

† This distinguished chief had long held the command of Dowlutabad; but the duties appear to have been much enlarged at this time; and the fort and district seem to have formed only a small part of the province now placed under Yoosoof Adil Khan.

receiving quarter; but the raja of the latter place held out against the besiegers for six months; at the end of which time, seeing no hopes of relief, he sent a message to Yoosoof Adil Khan, promising, if his life should be spared, to make an offering of all his effects in the fort, and to evacuate it with his family. Yoosoof Adil Khan, agreeing to these terms, ordered Duria Khan to permit the inhabitants to retire without molestation. Accordingly, the Ray Beejy Sing, with his family and dependents, quitted the ancient abode of his ancestors, leaving behind him his public treasures and hereditary wealth. Yoosoof Adil Khan, who had come post to the camp, entered the fort the same day, and took possession of the property; after which, he conciliated the principal inhabitants and farmers of the country by assurances of his protection. He then marched against the fort of Ranjny* the chief of which, whose father was lately dead, surrendered on condition of his life being spared. Yoosoof Adil Khan, having selected some elephants, horses, and such articles as he deemed fit for the King's use, received the Raja (Amur Sing) under his protection, and restored to him his fort and country. Yoosoof Adil Khan now returned to Ahmudabad Bidur, where he laid before the King such sums of money and jewels, besides presenting several elephants and horses, that the rich booties of Rajmundry and Nowlgoond appeared insignificant when compared with them. Mahomed Shah accordingly conferred on Yoosoof Adil Khan

* Probably Ranjungam, the chief town of the district of the same name.

great honours; observing, that whoever had Khwaja Mahmood Gawan as his father could not fail of performing important services. The King, on this occasion, directed Khwaja Mahmood Gawan to entertain Yoosoof Adil Khan for a week at his own house, with every possible magnificence. The minister observed, that without the King's presence the feast would be incomplete. Mahmood Shah declined participating in an entertainment prepared for another guest; but promised that he would honour his house with a visit of a week, after the festival to Adil Khan was ended.

Accordingly, on the eighth day, Mahomed Shah proceeded to the minister's palace, where he passed a week in continued festivity, admitting Yoosoof Adil Khan to the honour of drinking wine with him. Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, on this occasion, not only entertained the King with uncommon splendour, but presented him with fifty dishes of pure gold with covers set with jewels, each large enough to hold a roasted lamb; one hundred slaves of Circassia, Georgia, and Abyssinia, most of them accomplished singers and musicians; one hundred horses of Arabia, Syria, and Asia Minor; and one hundred dishes of superb china porcelain, to be seen no where excepting in the palaces of a few great princes. On the last day he made handsome offerings to the King's sons, and all the members of the court; then presenting the King with a list of his property, which he said belonged solely to his Majesty, he desired him to take pos-

session. Mahomed Shah admired the compliment, and having gone through the form of accepting his offer, conferred on him anew all he had seen.* The influence of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan and Yoosoof Adil Khan now became so great, that they were courted and envied by all the nobility; and the Deccanies, like wounded vipers, writhing in the torment of jealousy, unitedly resolved on their destruction.

A. H. 877.
A. D. 1472.

In the year 877 Birkana † Ray, Raja of the fortress of Belgam, at the instigation of the Ray of Beejanuggur, marched to retake the island of Goa, as did also the Hindoo chief of Bunkapoor. Mahomed Shah, on gaining intelligence of these hostile preparations, collected his forces, and moved against Belgam, ‡ a fortress of great strength, surrounded by a deep wet ditch, and near it a pass, the only approach to which was fortified by redoubts. To this place the King laid siege; and Birkana,

* It would have been ungracious for the King not to have accepted the proferred wealth of the minister. To refuse an offering, in the East, is equivalent to a sign of offence, and conveys a notion either that the gift is unfit to be received, or that the donor is not worthy of presenting it. This feeling renders the exchange of presents by public functionaries a matter of state policy, which, although falling much into disuse where Europeans are concerned, can hardly be abolished entirely so long as the Oriental princes retain their courts, and adhere to their national forms and habits.

† The Oriental scholar will recognise in this penult the language of the southern part of the peninsula.

‡ This fort is now occupied by British troops, and is deemed one of the strongest on the plain in that part of the country.

out of regard to his future safety, sent persons secretly to Khwaja Mahmood to obtain terms; but Mahomed Shah, in order to show his power and to deter other fortresses from holding out, refused to accede to any conditions, and resolved to take it by storm. He commanded the fire-workers, as they valued their own safety, to effect a practicable breach in fourteen days, and committed to Khwaja Mahmood Gawan the duty of filling up the ditch, saying that he expected to have it passable for the troops when the guns had effected a breach. Though Khwaja Mahmood Gawan during the day threw great quantities of wood and earth into the ditch, the enemy in the night always removed them, upon which he changed his operations to another quarter, and began to form trenches and dig mines which till now had not been used in the Deccan. Birkana, confiding in his wet ditch, fancied himself secure, when suddenly three mines from the posts of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, Yoosoof Adil Khan, and Futteh Oolla Imad-ool-Moolk, having been conducted under the fort wall, succeeded in forming breaches. The troops of Birkana advanced gallantly to defend the place, and nearly two thousand of the King's troops fell in the attempt to storm. The besieged had nearly repaired the work with wood and stones, when Mahomed Shah, advancing to the assault, drove the enemy before him, and gained the ramparts. While in the act of attacking the citadel, the Raja himself, having assumed a disguise, came to the royal attendants, and requested to be

introduced to the King as a messenger from the Ray. On being admitted to the presence, he threw his turban round his neck, and discovered himself, saying, that he had come with his family to kiss the foot of the throne. Mahomed Shah, flattered with this exhibition of confidence and magnanimity, admitted him into the order of the nobility of his court. When opposition had ceased the King entered the citadel, and gave God thanks for the success of his arms. Having added Belgam and its dependences to the estates of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan he returned to the capital. Soon after this expedition, in which she had accompanied her son, the Queen-mother, by whose prudence the state had acquired such eminence, died on the road, and the King sent her corpse to be interred with great pomp at Ahmudabad Bidur.

When the royal standard reached the city of Beejapoor, Mahomed Shah, at the request of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, halted to repose from his fatigues: and the minister endeavoured to divert his grief from the death of his mother. Admiring the situation of Beejapoor, the King would willingly have remained there during the rainy season: but so severe a drought prevailed throughout the Deccan, that the wells dried up, and the King, contrary to his inclination, was obliged to move with his army to Ahmudabad Bidur. No rain fell during the next year either, and the towns in consequence became almost depopulated. Many of the inhabitants died of famine, and numbers emigrated, for food, to Malwa,

Jajnuggut, and Guzerat. In Tulingana, Marhutt,* and throughout the Bahmuny dominions, no grain was sown for two years; and on the third, when the Almighty showered his mercy upon the earth, scarcely any farmers remained in the country to cultivate the lands.†

Not long after this dreadful visitation, while the country was just reviving from depopulation, intelligence came that the garrison of Condapilly had, in a state of mutiny, murdered their governor, seized the property of his dependents, and given up the fort to Bhimraj Oorea, a person originally patronised by Mahomed Shah. Bhimraj, on this acquistion, sent persons to wait on the Ray of Orissa, representing, that if he wished to recover his hereditary dominions in Tulingana, now was the time, as the resources of the Deccan were exhausted by two years of famine, and the armies were reduced to small numbers. Bhimraj also promised to join him, provided he were admitted to share in the conquests made from the Mussulmans; and engaged for the present to allow him to retain the fort and district of Condapilly. The Ray of Orissa, availing himself of these offers, collected ten thousand horse, and eight thousand foot, and having summoned the Raja of Jajnuggur to his assistance, entered Tulingana without delay.

* Maharashtra.

† It is difficult for those persons who have not witnessed the calamity to imagine the distress occasioned by long droughts, and the failure of the periodical rains in tropical climates.

Nizam-ool-Moolk, governor of Rajmundry, unable to cope with so large a force, shut himself up in that fortress, and sent accounts to court of his situation.

Mahomed Shah, by the advice of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, resolved to march against the infidels in person. Having, therefore, advanced one year's pay to the troops, he began his journey with all practicable expedition. On his arrival near Rajmundry, the enemy declined meeting him in the field, Bhimraj retired to the fortress of Condapilly, and the Ray of Orissa, crossing the river at Rajmundry, retreated towards his own dominions. Mahomed Shah, enraged at this unprovoked aggression, left Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, with the Prince Mahmood Khan, at Rajmundry, and marched with twenty thousand horse to punish the rebellious idolater. In the latter part of the year 882, the King penetrated to the capital of Orissa, and slew without mercy the inhabitants, at the same time devastating the enemy's country. The Ray having withdrawn his troops to the very extremity of his possessions, the Mahomedans ranged unmolested, and collected contributions from the people. The King, at length, determined to send for his son and Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, and to establish them in the province, which he determined to occupy as a permanent conquest.

A. H. 882.
A. D. 1477.

The Ray of Orissa, hearing of the King's intentions, sent repeated embassies, with presents of elephants and other valuable articles, to open the

door of forgiveness, declaring, solemnly, that he would never, on any future occasion, assist the zemindars of Tulingana. To this the King replied, that if he would give him up twenty-five elephants, which he named, and which had belonged to the late Ray, his predecessor, he would make peace. Although the Ray prized these elephants next to his life, he durst not refuse; they were accordingly sent, clothed in rich trappings, bearing in their trunks chains of gold and silver. After which, the King commenced his return from Orissa.

On the road, while one day engaged at some distance from his route in hunting, he saw a fort on a high hill, and going to view it nearer with his attendants, asked some of the country people to whom it belonged. They replied, that it was the property of the Ray of Orissa, and that no power dared be so rash as to cast even a look of conquest upon it. The King, incensed at this remark, halted at the foot of the hill, and the next day began the siege, which continued a month and a half without success. At the expiration of that period, the Ray sent an apology for the rudeness of his subjects, whom he called clowns unacquainted with politeness, and entreated his Majesty would consider the fort his own by conquest, but bestow it upon him as one of his vassals. This ingenious apology pleasing the King, he raised the siege, and continued his march.

Mahomed Shah now sat down before Condapilly, and Bhim Raj, after six months, being much distressed, sued for pardon; which being granted,

at the intercession of some of the nobility, he surrendered the fort and town to the royal troops. The King having gone to view the fort, broke down an idolatrous temple, and killed some bramins, who officiated at it, with his own hands, as a point of religion. He then gave orders for a mosque to be erected on the foundation of the temple, and ascending a pulpit, repeated a few prayers, distributed alms, and commanded the Khootba to be read in his name. Khwaja Mahmood Gawan now represented, that as his Majesty had slain some infidels with his own hands, he might fairly assume the title of Ghazy, an appellation of which he was very proud. Mahmood Shah was the first of his race who had slain a bramin;* and it is the belief of the Deccanies that this act was inauspicious, and led to the troubles which soon after perplexed the affairs of himself and his family, and ended in the dissolution of the dynasty.

Mahomed Shah, according to the advice of Khwaja Mahmood, remained nearly three years at Rajmundry, settling the conquered country, and establishing proper military posts on that frontier. Having secured the whole of Tulingana, by expelling all the refractory zemindars, he resolved on the conquest of the territory of Nursing Ray, and consulted his minister on the subject of establishing a governor for the province of Tulingana. The minister replied, that no one was more

* The reader will recollect the circumstances which gave rise to this dynasty assuming the title of Bahmuny.

capable of such a charge than Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry; and the King, approving of the choice, committed to his care Rajmundry, Condapilly, and several other places. Wurungole, and other districts, he conferred on Azim Khan, after which he began his march towards the territory of Nursing Ray. Nizam-ool-Moolk, disappointed that Azim Khan should have a distinct charge within his province, represented, that he wished to leave his government in charge of one of his sons, and attend the royal stirrup. To this application the King replied, that his object was to afford protection to the country, and he was, therefore, indifferent by whom that should be effected. It is said that Khwaja Mahmood, perceiving Nizam-ool-Moolk to be extremely ambitious, did not wish that his son, Mullik Ahmud, who had lately married a lady from the King's haram, and was more aspiring even than his father, should be stationed with him in the same province. At the time when Nizam-ool-Moolk was originally appointed governor of Rajmundry, he persuaded the King to station Mullik Ahmud under Khodawund Khan Hubshy, giving him an estate in the Mahoor district, with the rank of an officer of three hundred. Mahomed Shah, however, now complying with the request of Nizam-ool-Moolk, recalled his son Mullik Ahmud to camp, promoted him to the rank of commander of a thousand men, and permitted him to proceed as his father's deputy to Rajmundry.

Nursing Ray was a powerful raja possessing the country lying between the Carnatic and

Tulingana,* extending alone the sea-coast to Muchlyputtun † (fish-town), and had added much of the Beejanuggur territory to his own by conquest, together with several strong forts. He had frequently excited the zemindars on the Bahmuny frontier to rebel; and the officers on the borders, unable to control his power, had more than once represented his conduct to court, which had, at length, induced the King to attack him.

Mahomed Shah, in the beginning of this expedition, marching by a ruined fort, ‡ and being told that it had been erected by one of the Kings of Dehly to overawe the borderers, halted, and commanded it to be repaired without delay. Khwaja Mahmood Gawan made such exertions that the ordinary work of two years was accomplished in the short space of six months, a garrison established, and ample stores of all kinds laid in for its defence. On Mahomed Shah finding the works completed in so short a time, he exclaimed, "The Almighty hath bountifully conferred upon "me two incalculable blessings; a great kingdom "and such a servant as Mahmood Gawan!" Having said this, he took off his upper robe, and putting it on the shoulders of Khwaja Mahmood, took his in return, and put it on his own person. No history, I believe, records an instance of so great an honour being conferred by any king on a

* It is the tract called by the early Europeans Nursinga, probably after this prince.

† Masulipatam.

‡ Name not mentioned.

subject. But as the attainment of supreme favour often leads to distrust, and sometimes even to a downfall, so it happened to Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, as will be hereafter related.

Mahomed Shah, having stationed three thousand horse near the fort to protect his rear, marched onward. Wherever he came he laid waste the country, and slew such of the inhabitants as made resistance. On his arrival at Condapilly, he was informed by the country people, that at the distance of ten days' journey was the temple of Kunchy,* the walls and roof of which were covered with plates of gold, and ornamented with precious stones; but that no Mahomedan monarch had as yet seen it, or even heard of its name. Mahomed Shah, accordingly, selected six thousand of his best cavalry, and leaving the rest of his army at Condapilly, proceeded by forced marches to Kunchy. He moved so rapidly on the last day, according to the historians of the time, that only forty troopers kept up with him, among which number were Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry and Yoorish Khan Toork. On approaching the temple some Hindoos came forth, one of whom, a man of gigantic stature, mounted on horseback, and brandishing a drawn sabre by way of defiance, rushed full speed towards the King, and aimed a blow which the latter parried; and with one stroke of his sword cleaved him in twain. Another infidel then attacked the King, whose

* Conjeveram.

little band was shortly engaged man to man with the enemy; but Mahomed Shah had again the good fortune to slay his opponent, upon which the rest of the Hindoos retired into the temple. Swarms of people, like bees, now issued from within, and ranged themselves under the walls to defend it. At length, the rest of the King's force coming up, the temple was attacked and carried by storm, with great slaughter. An immense booty fell to the share of the victors, who took away nothing but gold, jewels, and silver, which were abundant. The King then sacked the city of Kunchy, and after remaining therein for a week, he returned to his army.

After this achievement, Mahomed Shah having consulted Mullik Hussun Nizam-ool-Moolk,* Yoosoof Adil Khan, and Fukhr-ool-Moolk, detached them, together with many other of the foreign officers and troops, composed of the Dowlutabad and Joonere divisions, consisting of about fifteen thousand men, against Nursing Ray. The King himself marched towards Muchly-puttun, a place also belonging to Nursing Ray, which he reduced, with all the dependent country, and then returned to Condapilly. It was at this time that Nizam-ool-Moolk, Zureef-ool-Moolk, and other officers, envious of the favour shown towards the minister, bribed several of the King's confidential personal domestics to throw out occasional hints

* Although from this sentence we should naturally conclude that Mullik Hussun Nizam-ool-Moolk (a Deccany) also went, yet from the context, explaining that the troops consisted of foreigners, and were the divisions of Dowlutabad and Joonere, it appears certain he did not accompany this force.

prejudicial to Khwaja Mahmood Gawan. They lost no opportunity of poisoning the King's mind, by rendering him suspicious of the minister's ambition, and insinuated that great peculations took place in the royal revenue. At length they brought that great man to destruction, by contriving an infamous forgery. Before I enter into the particulars of this transaction, it will be proper to state the causes of the hostility of those nobles who plotted his destruction.

The Bahmuny territories having, in the reign of Mahomed Shah, become very extensive, Khwaja Mahmood Gawan thought it desirable to make several alterations in the ordinances established by Alla-ood-Deen Hussun Shah Gungoo, which were calculated for a small state. Having convinced the King of this necessity, he was permitted to carry his plan into execution. The whole kingdom, which had been originally divided into four turufs, or provinces, and placed under four governors, was now distributed into eight. Berar was subdivided into two governments; viz. Gavul being placed under Futteh Oolla Imad-ool-Moolk, and Mahoor under Khodawund Khan Hubshy. Dowlutabad was conferred on Yoosoof Adil Khan; while a tract from Joonere, including several dependent districts on the south, such as Indapoor, Waee, Man, as well as the forts of Goa and Belgam, were placed under Fukhr-ool-Moolk. Beejapoor, with many districts along the Beema, together with Rachore and Moodkul, were reserved by the minister for himself. Ahsunabad Koolburga, Sagur, Nuldroog, and Sholapore,

were entursted to the Abyssinian eunuch Dustoor Deenar. The country of Tulingana, at one time entirely in the hands of Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry, was also divided. Rajmundry, Muchly-puttun, Bilconda, Oorea, &c. still continued under his charge; while the government of Wurungole was conferred on Azim Khan. Several places in each of the eight divisions were reserved especially to meet the King's private expenses; and distinct collectors were appointed from court to manage them.

From the time of Alla-ood-Deen Shah to the present reign, it had been the custom to leave all the forts, in each province, in the hands of the governor, or turufdar, who appointed his own commandant and garrison. In consequence of this arrangement, the governors of provinces had sometimes rebelled, and it had frequently been found difficult to reduce them to subjection. By the new regulation one fortress alone was left in the governor's hands, in which he might, if he chose, reside; but the remainder were entrusted to officers and troops distinctly appointed by the King, and paid from head-quaters.

The mode of paying the army was also altered; formerly the officers of five hundred men had one lack of hoons* per annum; of a thousand,

* The hoon may fairly be estimated at three and a half rupees. An estate for the support of five hundred cavalry in the field then would yield 350,000 rupees, out of which ten per cent. at least must be deducted for collectors and maintaining a police establishment, leaving a net balance of

two lacks, whether payable in cash or in jageer assignment. Khwaja Mahmood, after the entire conquest of Tulingana, in order to conciliate the army, increased the pay of an officer of five hundred to one lack and twenty-five thousand hoons, and an officer of a thousand to two lacks and fifty thousand. In the jageer assignments it was understood, if the revenues fell short of the estimate even by one hoon, the balance was payable out of the royal treasury :

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more than is necessary to support an equal number, of the same description of cavalry, in the British army, in India, at the present day.

The comparison is useful and interesting ; and if the statement of the historian, which bears truth on the face of it, is to be relied on, it proves how much more liberally the Indian army was paid in those times than now. The difference is greatly magnified, too, if we consider the relative value of the metals in those days and the present.

Comparative Abstract of the pay of a body of five hundred cavalry, supplying their own horses and weapons, and feeding their cattle, under the Bahmuny kings of the Deccan in 1470, and under the British government in the Deccan in 1828 :—

Denomination.	Bahmuny Regiment in 1470.		British Regiment in 1828.		REMARKS.
	Each Rank, per Month.	Total of each Rank.	Each Rank, per Month.	Total of each Rank.	
Commandant ...	2500	2500	1000	1000	In the British service, the commandant is an European.
Risaldar	800	800	500	500	
Five Jemadars ...	200	1000	100	500	
Twenty Duffadars ...	90	1800	60	1200	
Accountant, or Paymaster	150	150	50	50	
Five hundred Privates ...	40	20,000	30	15,000	
		26,250		18,250	
		12	Months.	12	Months.
		315,000		219,000	

at the same time, if the officers kept one soldier less than the complement, a sum equal to his pay was deducted from the allowances. By these excellent rules order every where prevailed, the government acquired strength, and justice was done to all parties; but this rigid scrutiny gave offence to many ambitious chiefs, who, in consequence, entertained hatred to the minister.

Khwaja Mahmood perceived their discontent; but as all his views were directed to the public interest only, he disregarded it, feeling confidence in himself and his friends. Among the most sincere of these was Yoosoof Adil Khan, his adopted son. The enemies of the minister also felt that while these two chiefs remained together no attempt could be made against either. Yoosoof Adil Khan, having, as we have seen, gone on the expedition against Nursing Ray, the two friends were separated, and a number of Deccanies* and Abyssinians, who had been raised to high offices entirely at the recommendation of Khwaja Mahmood, entered into a conspiracy with Nizam-ool-moolk Bheiry against their patron, recommending that advantage should be taken of Yoosoof Adil Khan's absence to effect the destruction of the minister.

Zureef-ool-Moolk Deccany, and one Mifta an Abyssinian, were the two persons selected to execute the plot. Having laid themselves out for the

* The Deccanies and Abyssinians on this as well as all other occasions seemed to make common cause against the foreigners.

purpose, they became intimate with the Abyssinian slave who kept the minister's seal, and were in the habit of drinking with him. On one occasion, when the slave was much inebriated, they asked him to affix the minister's seal to a paper, which they said was an account of one of their friends, to which the signet of several of the departments was already attached, and which only required the minister's. The slave, intoxicated with liquor, complied, and without even unfolding the paper stamped the seal on the part pointed out to him. The two wretches, overjoyed at their success, went the same night to Nizam-ool-Moolk, who wrote a letter on the paper, as if from Khwaja Mahmood to the Ray of Orissa, in these words: I am weary "of the debaucheries and cruelty of Mahomed "Shah: the Deccan may be conquered with little "trouble. On the Rajmundry frontier, there is "no officer of any character; and that tract lies "open to invasion from your quarter. As most of "the officers and troops are devoted to my interests, "I will join you with a powerful army. When "we have, in conjunction, reduced the kingdom, "we can divide it equally between us." Zureef-"ool-Moolk and Mifta Hubshy were instructed to deliver this letter to the King, in the presence of Nizam-ool-Moolk. Mahomed Shah, seeing the seal, was incensed beyond measure, and Nizam-ool-Moolk availed himself of the moment to criminate the minister more deeply by false insinuations. The King, losing all command over his reason, and without weighing the probability of the circumstance, sent for Khwaja Mahmood,

without even asking to see the messenger, who, it was pretended, had been intercepted carrying the letter. The minister's friends warned him against going, and recommended him to frame some excuse for not obeying that day, but to wait till the King's frenzy should abate; by which time the authors of the forgery might be detected, and brought to punishment. Khwaja Mahmood resolved to meet the danger, repeating, in reply, certain verses to the following effect:—"He who dies a martyr in the fulness of devotion, has his reward "here and hereafter; happy, then, would it be for "me to meet with so enviable a destiny.

"My beard has grown grey in the service of the "father, it will surely be honourable that it be "dyed* red in that of the son."

Many of the chiefs attached to the minister sent messengers to him, saying, that they had heard alarming reports, but they had each a thousand horse ready, and that if he chose to fly to Guzerat, they would attend him, and sacrifice their lives for him. He replied, he had for many years enjoyed an honourable station in his master's service, during which he had been guilty of no crime; that he relied with confidence on the justice of the King, who would certainly not punish a faithful servant on the bare accusations of his enemies; but if impelled by Providence to do so, it was befitting in him to submit to the

* The pun here cannot be translated. In old age the white beard is dyed first of a red hue, and by the application of indigo is changed to black.

decree. He concluded by observing, that the measure they proposed, out of duty and friendship, would on his part be ingratitude and rebellion.

Having made up his mind to the worst, he went to court. Mahomed Shah sternly asked him, "When any one is disloyal to his sovereign, "and his crime be proved, what should be his "punishment?" The Khwaja undauntedly replied, "Let the abandoned wretch who practises treason "against his lord meet with no mercy." The King then showed him the letter; upon seeing which, the minister, after repeating the verse of the Koran, "O God, verily this is a great forgery," said, "The seal is mine, but not the letter, of "which I have no knowledge." He concluded, by repeating the following verse: "By that God "whose commands have been fulfilled by the just, "even at the expense of their blood, false as the "story of Yoosoof and the wolf* is that which my "enemies have forged against me." The King being at the time intoxicated with wine, had resigned his reason to fury, and as the decline, of the house of Bahmuny was also to be soon completed, he went into no further examination, but rising from his seat, ordered his Abyssinian slave Jowhur to put the minister to death on the spot. Khwaja Mahmood, addressing the King, said, "The death of an old man like me is, in-"deed, of little moment; but to your Majesty it "will be the loss of an empire, and the ruin of "your character." The King without attending

* Alluding to the well-known story of Joseph in sacred history

to him, went abruptly into his haram. The slave then drawing his sabre advanced towards the Khwaja, who, kneeling down facing the Kibla,* said "There is no God but God and "Mahomed is the prophet of God." As the sabre descended he exclaimed, "Praise be to God," and thus resigned his soul to the devine mercy. Asud Khan Geelany, an officer of high rank, and a friend of the Khwaja, happening to be present, was put to death by the slave also, without orders. Thus died Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. A little before his death he completed a poem in praise of his master, Mahomed Shah.

Suffur 5. A. H. 886. April 5. A. D. 1581.

His death happened on the 5th of Suffur, 886; and Moolla Abdool Kurreem Sindy, the author of the Tareekh Mahmood Shahy, one of the servants of the Khwaja, composed the following verses on his martyrdom:—

"If you would know the date, when the innocent martyr, truly worthy of veneration, "whose bounty made the world glad, suffered "death, you will find it recorded in

قتل نا حق

"'*The unjust Execution.*'" †

In another distich, the same author observes, "If you are asked the date of his death, say that

بي گناه محمود گاوان شد شهيد

"'*the guiltless Mahmood Gawan suffered martyrdom.*'" †

* Mecca.

† The Persian words, translated in italics, afford the number 886, the date of the minister's death.

There are in the Deccan many remains of the munificence of this great man, particularly a college built by him at Ahmudabad Bidur two years before his death, containing also a mosque and a large square, which at the date of this history were as entire as if only just finished.* Khwaja Mahmood possessed much learning; he evinced great taste in his compositions, both in prose and verse, and in arithmetic and mathematics he had few equals. The Rozut-ool-Insha and some poems of his production are still extant in a few of the libraries in the Deccan. It was his practice to remit annually valuable presents to several learned men in Khorassan and Irak, and the princes of those parts bestowed honours upon him. Mowlana Jamy Abdool Rahman

* After the capture of Bidur by Aurunzeeb, in the latter end of the seventeenth century, this splendid range of buildings was appropriated to the double purpose of a powder magazine and barrack for a body of cavalry, when, by accident, the powder exploding, destroyed the greater part of the edifice, causing dreadful havoc around. Sufficient of the work remains, however, even at the present day, to afford some notion of its magnificence and beauty. The outline of the square, and some of the apartments, are yet entire, and one of the minarets is still standing. It is more than one hundred feet in height, ornamented with tablets, on which sentences of the Koran, in white letters, three feet in length, standing forth on a ground of green and gold, still exhibits to the spectator a good sample of what this superb edifice once was. The college is one of the very many beautiful remains of the grandeur of the Bahmuny and Bereed dynasties, which flourished at Bidur; and they render a visit to that city an object of lively interest to all travellers, but particularly to those who may peruse this history.

corresponded with him, and some of his letters are to be seen in his works. Among the Mowlana's poems is one written in praise of that minister. Moolla Abdool Kureem Sindy has written an excellent life of Khwaja Mahmood, part of which is here inserted.

Khwaja Mahmood's ancestors had for many generations in succession held the office of vizier to the princes of Geelan in Persia. One of these became ruler of Rushd, which territory, according to Hajy Mahomed Kandahary, continued in the family till the time of Shah Tahmasp Sufvy. Khwaja Mahmood, himself of royal extraction, alarmed at the jealousy of Shah Tahasp, persuaded his mother to quit his birth-place; and though invited to fill the high station of vizier by the princes of Irak and Khorassan, he refused that dangerous office, choosing rather to become a merchant. In this capacity he travelled through many countries, and made acquaintance with celebrated and learned men in each. In his forty-third year, with a view partly to traffic and party in order to visit the learned men of the Deccan, he came by sea to the port of Dabul, and from thence travelled to Ahmudabad Bidur, intending to proceed from that capital to Dehly. Alla-ood-Deen Shah the Second, appreciating his great qualities, prevailed on him to become enrolled among his nobility. In the reign of Hoomayoon Shah Zalim he received the title of Mullik-oot-Toojar, and rose to the first office in the state. Mahomed Shah added to this several other titles, among which was that of Khwaja Jehan. During this reign he had two

thousand Moguls in his own service, and the command of ten thousand horse from the King. The following reason is given for his being called Gawan: Being one day in the King's company sitting on a terrace of the palace, a cow happened to low underneath, when one of the assembly jocosely remarked, "The learned minister will "perhaps tell your Majesty what the cow says." On which Khwaja Mahmood observed, "She "says I am one of her species, and should not keep "company with an ass." When he received the title of Khwaja Jehan, he prophetically observed that he feared it was unlucky as all who had held it came to an untimely end. He was by persuasion a rigid Soony. His loyalty to Mahomed Shah was sincere; and the fame of his liberality spread over Asia; there being scarce a town or city the learned men of which had not derived advantage from his bounty. His behaviour was affable to all, and his justice unimpeachable.

Mahomed Shah having heard frequent reports of the vast wealth of his minister, sent for the treasurer, Nizam-ood-Deen Hussun Geelany, and demanded where the money, jewels, and plate of the Khwaja were deposited. The treasurer, in apparent alarm, told the King that if he would spare his life he would discover all; on which, expecting to realise a great booty, the King took a solemn oath, promising if he concealed nothing to reward him handsomely. The treasurer then said, "O Sire, my "master had two treasuries, one of which he called "the King's, from which were issued the expenses of "his troops, stables, and household; in this there

"are now ten thousand larees* and three thousand "hoons; the other he called the treasury of the "poor, and in this there is a sealed bag contain-"ing three hundred larees."† The King said, "How comes it that the Khwaja, whose revenues "equalled that of many kings, should only have "so small a sum?" The treasurer said, "When-"ever money came from his jageer, having taken "for the King's treasury the pay of his troops "and stables, he gave the remainder, in your "Majesty's name, to the poor, not reserving a "cowrie‡ for his own use. A sum of forty thou-"sand larees,§ which he brought with him from "Persia to the Deccan, he employed in trade, and "preserving always that capital, he expended "two larees daily for his own kitchen and apparel "out of the profit, the remainder of which was "carried into the treasury for the poor, and "issued from thence in sums remitted to his "mother, his relatives, and worthy persons, with "whom he had made acquaintance in his travels, "and who would not come to Hindoostan."

The enemies of the minister were confounded at this account; but enviously remarked, that the Khwaja was a prudent man, and suspecting his expenses might betray his riches, had left them secreted at the capital. To which the treasurer replied, that if one laree belonging to him should be found there. or any where, besides the sums he

* A silver coin worth two shillings. † 60*l*.

‡ A small shell, of which thirty went to a penny.

§ 4000*l*.

had mentioned, he would submit to the severest punishment. The King then assembled all the late minister's servants, end first questioned the chief furash,* who said, that all the tents and carpets his master had were now in the camp, except some matting in the city on the floors of his mosque and college: he observed that the Khwaja always slept himself upon a bare mat. The overseer of the kitchen was then called, who declared, that all the utensils and vessels were with him; but that the victuals for his master's own eating were always prepared in earthen pots. The librarian lastly stood forth, and acknowledged that there were in the library three thousand volumes, but all designed for the students of the college. The King now became melancholy; and the treasurer took courage to say, "O King! may many "thousands such as Mahmood Gawan be a sacrifice "for thy safety; but why didst thou not regard "the claims of that minister, and ascertain who "was the bearer of the letter to the Ray of Orissa, "that his treason might appear manifest to us, and "to all man-kind." Mahomed Shah, stuck with the observation, and awaking as if from a trance of stupefaction, called to the accusers of the unfortunate minister to bring the bearer of the letter before him. None could be produced; and the real truth now flashed on the King's mind: he trembled with horror at the act that he had committed, and retired into his haram full of remorse and sorrow at his rash credulity, and for the unjust

* The controller of the camp-equipage.

sentence passed against his faithful servant and friend. The body of the deceased was sent off in melancholy pomp from the camp to Ahmudabad Bidur for interment; three days after which ceremony, the Prince Mahmood Khan and many of the nobility were directed to visit the grave.

The King now gave orders to march; but on the very same night Imad-ool-Moolk and Khodawund Khan, with the Berar and Mahoor divisions, separating from the camp, moved four miles distant. Mahomed Shah, surprised at their conduct, deferred his journey, and sent to enquire the cause of their movement. They replied, that as the favourite servants of his Majesty had by their machinations destroyed such a minister as Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, they could not but be apprehensive of their own safety if they remained at court. The King, upon this, sent them a confidential message, desiring them to come to his presence, that by their assistance he might punish the traitors who had thus abused his confidence. To this they replied, that whenever Yoosoof Adil Khan should arrive, they would come with him, and throw themselves at his Majesty's feet. The King, seeing that patience and conciliation alone would avail him, sent an order to Yoosoof Adil Khan, who came with all expedition to Condapilly, and pitched his camp close to that of the two disaffected chieftains; shortly after which, they obtained whatsoever they required. Beejapoor, the jageer of the late Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, was conferred on Yoosoof Adil Khan, who was appointed turufdar; while Duria Khan Fukhr-ool-Moolk, Mulloo Khan,

and most of the Mogul officers attached to him, obtained estates in that division. Futteh Oolla Imad-ool-Moolk and Khodawund Khan were confirmed in their governments, and also obtained other demands which they made. Having attended the King to Ahmudabad Bidur, these chiefs encamped without the city and refused to enter it; on which the King, finding his authority unsupported, did not give way to useless passion, as might have been expected, but submitting peaceably to their conduct, permitted them to return with due honours to their several estates. He vainly hoped, that Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry, now appointed minister, would supply the place of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan. In order to strengthen the hands of his new minister, he loaded him daily with public honours and private benefits; but these measures only tended to render him more and more the object of jealousy, hatred, and contempt.

Some months afterwards, the King, in hopes that Yoosoof Adil Khan, Imad-ool-Moolk, and Khodawund Khan, would join him with their armies, marched from the capital; but though they accompanied him, they encamped at a distance, and paid their respects only on the line of march, standing afar off, and being surrounded with their gaurds. Mahomed Shah, a thousand times in an hour, regretted the loss of Khwaja Mahmood; but as there was now no remedy, he scorned to complain, though he inwardly suffered extreme anguish. When the army reached Belgam, and the King had seen the city and fortifications, he refused to visit Goa and the Concan, though

repeatedly pressed by his officers to do so, but returned to the capital. At this time, intelligence arrived that Shew Ray, Raja of Beejanuggur, had sent a large army against Goa: on which the King directed Yoosoof Adil Khan to proceed with the Beejapoor division to oppose him. He himself returned by regular marches to Ferozabad: when Futteh Oolla Imad-ool-Moolk and Khodawund Khan, quitting the army on the route without leave, retired to their respective governments in Berar.

Mahomed Shah, aware that an attempt to enforce his authority must be attended by a civil war, resolved to take no notice of this conduct. He halted for three months at Ferozabad, and endeavoured to beguile the time in pleasure; but he was inwardly a prey to grief and mortification, which wasted his strength daily. He now proclaimed his son, the Prince Mahmood, his successor, and nominated Nizam-ool-Moolk regent in case of his death. A document to this effect was drawn out in writing, attested by the signatures and seals of the learned and pious men of the court. While this paper was framing, the King frequently said, "If they do "not obey me, who reigned gloriously for many "years, and conquered nations with my sword, "how will they submit to a child?" His weakness daily increased; but upon his return to Ahmudabad Bidur he grew better, and presuming upon it, indulged in excesses which produced a relapse. His fever had not entirely left him, when one day he drank a large cup of wine, and withdrew to his haram, which brought on a severe fit. The physicians administered to him medicines immediately,

and seeing him somewhat recovered, retired. In their absence, the King, from the vulgar notion that nothing is so good to remove the lassitude from intoxication as a fresh cordial, drank more wine, and instantly fell into strong convulsions, during which he cried out that Khwaja Mahmood Gawan was tearing him to pieces; till at length he trod the path of death on the 1st of Suffur, 887, after a reign of twenty years. The date of his death is comprised in the following verses :—

Suffur 1. A. H. 887. March 24. A.D. 1482.

"Sooltan Mahomed Shah, ruler of kings,
"When suddenly summoned to yield up his breath,
"Abandoned the Deccan, and all wordly things,
"And 'the ruin of Deccan'* recorded his death.'

* The words are خرابي دكن

MAHMOOD SHAH BAHMUNY II.

The minister strengthens the Deccany party in the government.—Yoosoof Adil Khan takes the lead of the foreigners.—A fray takes place between both parties.—A compromise ensues, and the foreigners quit the capital.—The minister and Kasim Bereed usurp the power of the state.—The King authorises their being assassinated—the attempt is made in the palace, but fails.—The minister becomes unpopular, and a second attempt to kill him succeeds.—The King abandons himself to wine and dissipation—converts the azure thrown into drinking goblets and vases.—Kasim Bereed assumes the reigns of government. An attempt is made to murder the King, which is defeated by a few foreigners alone.—The King proceeds to the westward with Kasim Bereed to reduce Bahadur Geelany, who revolts in the Concan.—Bahadur Geelany killed.—The King returns to Bidur.—Plot to assassinate the minister fails.—The minister dies—is succeeded by his son Ameer Bereed, to whom the King becomes reconciled.—Death of Mahmood Shah.

Mahmood Shah ascended the throne of the Deccan in the twelfth year of his age; and the officers then at court, such as Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry, Kowam-ool-Moolk, Kasim Bereed Toork, and others, took the usual oaths of allegiance, and the coronation was conducted with much ceremony. The Tukht Feroza was placed in the grand hall of audience, and on each side

of it a chair of silver. Shah Mohib Oolla and Abdool Huneef, the two most celebrated holy men of the age, having offered prayers for the King's prosperity, placed the crown on his head; then each supporting one arm, they assisted him to ascend the throne, which at this time exceeded in splendour and intrinsic value every other in the world. After which the holy men seated themselves on either side on the silver chairs prepared for them. Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry and Kasim Bereed then advancing, made propitiatory offerings, an example which was followed by all the nobles and officers present. Previously to the coronation, one of the chiefs observed, that Yoosoof Adil Khan Toork, Fukhr-ool-Moolk, Duria Khan, and Mulloo Khan, some of the principal foreign officers, not being present, the coronation would be incomplete. In answer to which, Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry replied, that ill consequences might ensue by keeping the throne vacant; but that if it were thought necessary, when the chiefs alluded to return from the campaign in the Concan, in which they were at present engaged, the ceremony might be repeated, and the titles and honours of those chiefs be confirmed, or additional ones bestowed. Moolla Abdool Kureem Sindy, who was present, states, that the people regarded these contentions as portentous of those evils which ensued; for although the reign of Mahmood Shah endured for a long period, yet it was occupied in troubles and civil wars, which ended in the subversion of the Bahmuny dynasty.

When the late Mahomed Shah ascended the throne, being but a child, many of the nobility aspired to become independent, but owing to the able conduct of the Queen-mother and Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, their designs were frustrated. When the King came to years of discretion, he soon rendered himself capable of conducting his own affairs, and by degrees the power of the nobility was restrained within proper bounds. The King's policy was to enrol foreigners, such as Georgians, Circassians, Calmucs, and other Tartars, among his personal guards. He had, besides, a band of two thousand Abyssinians and Indians From these bands were selected the officers of government, who by degrees rose to great power. Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry, a converted Hindoo, was considered by the Deccanies and Abyssinians as their leader; while the foreigners attached themselves to Yoosoof Adil Khan, originally a Toorky slave.* The minister, Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, himself a foreigner, favouring them, Yoosoof Adil Khan was permitted to stand at court above Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry, which offended the pride of that chieftain; and, in the end, led to the destruction of that great minister as has been before related. Yoosoof Adil Khan, by the line of conduct he adopted, escaped the snares laid for him; and

* I am disposed to think Ferishta (himself a Persian) uses the word *gholam*, in this place, merely to signify a devoted servant or soldier. The life-guards in Persia are distinguished by the appellation of Gholam-i-shahy, and they are composed of the sons of the most respectable nobles of the country.

being appointed turufdar of Beejapoor, became daily more powerful.

On the death of Mahomed Shah, and on the accession of Mahmood Shah II., Yoosoof Adil Khan, and the foreign officers with him, having entered into engagements to support each other, came from the Concan, in great force, to the capital, in order to congratulate the young King on his accession, and encamped without the city walls. Yoosoof Adil Khan, Duria Khan, Fukhr-ool-Moolk, Mulloo Khan, Ajdar Khan, and Ghuzunfur Khan, entered the city, with a thousand foreign horse, to pay their respects to the King. When arrived at the palace, though contrary to the etiquette of the court to enter with attendants, yet, apprehensive of treachery from Nizam-ool-Moolk, they were followed by two hundred armed men. Nizam-ool-Moolk met them with five hundred select attendants, and paying them the most ceremonious attention, introduced these officers to the King. Yoosoof Adil Khan paid his respects in form, and assumed his place, as usual, above Nizam-ool-Moolk and all the nobility. Duria Khan sat below Nizam-ool-Moolk, but above his son Mullik Ahmud, so that in case of treachery the foreign chiefs might fall on these two ministers.* Mullik Ahmud Bheiry attempted to move next his father, who forbade him to do so; and in order to prevent a disturbance, which he saw from

* This is well described, and conveys to the mind of one who has been present at Asiatic courts a true picture of the scene.

the precautions taken by his rivals would be hazardous to his person, hastened the ceremony of bestowing the dresses of honour by the King, and the dismissal of the visitors. Yoosoof Adil Khan, on coming out, took Nizam-ool-Moolk's hand, under pretence of conversation, and led him to the outer gate of the citadel, where, having joined the whole of his guards, the chieftains parted with mutual assurances of esteem and friendship.* After which Yoosoof Adil Khan took up his residence at his own house in the city, with a guard of a thousand chosen men for his protection, giving orders to Duria Khan and his other friends to return to camp, and to be on the alert.

Nizam-ool-Moolk the next day visited Yoosoof Adil Khan, and after many professions of regard, proposed that he and all the foreign officers should reside in the city, in order that they might attend with him at court, and assist in the management of public affairs. Yoosoof Adil Khan replied, that his kind intentions were fully appreciated, and were consistent with his own feelings towards him, but that as for his daily attendance at court, there could be no occasion for it, as he and his friends were mere soldiers, and did not profess to understand the machinary of government, which they were willing, he said, to see Nizam-ool-Moolk

* To walk hand in hand bespeaks extreme friendship and esteem. Here Yoosoof had two objects. By securing the minister's right hand in his left, he not only evinced cordiality, but prevented his employing his side-arms, while he had his own right hand free.

conduct uncontrolled, agreeably to the will of their late sovereign, leaving in their hands the execution of the King's military orders. Yoosoof Adil Khan observed, that his friends had better remain encamped without the city, as they were boisterous, and quarrels might ensue in the town between them and the Abyssinians and Deccanies. It was at length agreed that Nizam-ool-Moolk should have the post of Vakeel-oos-Sultunut,* and relinquish all the other great offices which he had held under the late King. By this arrangement the office of vizier was conferred on Kowam-ool-Moolk, senior; the government of Wurungole on Kowam-ool-Moolk, junior. The government of Rajmundry was made over to Dilawur Khan, Abyssinian, the chief offices being shared out equally by both parties.† They then repaired together to court, where the King's assent being obtained, and dresses of confirmation presented, Yoosoof Adil Khan returned to his own house, and never after concerned himself in the internal affairs of the government.

For a short time, the foreigners lived amicably with the Deccanies and Abyssinians; but Nizam-ool-Moolk and Kowam-ool-Moolk, senior, encroaching on the former engagement, proposed to remove Yoosoof Adil Khan from Beejapoor, and

* An office before described as equivalent to protector during the King's minority.

† By this it is meaned, that half of the power of the state was in the hands of the Abyssinians and Deccanies, under the patronage of Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry, and half in the hands of the foreigners under the patronage of Yoosoof Adil Khan.

confer that province on one Adil Khan Deccany, then deputy-governor of Wurungole. With this view they sent for Adil Khan Deccany to court, together with Futteh Oolla Imad-ool-Moolk, on pretence of congratulating the King on his accession. They came accordingly, with their troops, and encamping without the walls, entered the city, with a few attendants, to pay their respects and make their offerings to the King, who received them graciously, and conferred on them dresses as usual.

About three weeks after this event, Nizam-ool-Moolk having discovered that Kowam-ool-Moolk Toork had quarrelled with his party, now courted him, and proposed, with the assistance of the Deccany nobility, to destory Yoosoof Adil Khan, and send off his partisans to their different stations. He observed that the Deccany officers felt they could not move out of their houses even, for fear of the foreigners : on which account he recommended, that when their plan was ripe for execution Kowam-ool-Moolk should restrain the foreign troops under his orders from quitting their quarters. Kowam-ool-Moolk entered into the design ; and on the following day, Nizam-ool-Moolk having seated the King upon one of the towers of the citadel, sent orders to Adil Khan Deccany * and Futteh Oolla Imad-ool-Moolk to

* This person, deputy-governer of Wurungole, must not be confounded with Yoosoof Adil Khan Toork, the governor of Beejapoor, the friend of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, and the leader of the foreign party.

pass in review with their troops before the King, previously to receiving their audience of dismissal to their governments. Furhad-ool-Moolk, the kotwal, by some means discovered the plot, and informed Kowam-ool-Moolk that Nizam-ool-Moolk's projects extended to all the foreigners without exception, and that the plan to assassinate Yoosoof Adil Khan would only be a prelude to the total destruction of the whole; so that it would be the height of insanity for the foreigners to remain passive in their houses on such an occasion. Kowam-ool-Moolk, who wished for the death of Yoosoof Adil Khan, and relying on the sincerity of Nizam-ool-Moolk's friendship to himself, paid no regard to this intimation.

Adil Khan Deccany and Imad-ool-Moolk came into the city with their troops, being the divisions of Tulingana and Berar, and drew up before the palace. Mahmood Shah, a mere tool in the hands of the minister, at the instigation of Nizam-ool-Moolk, addressing the two chiefs, told them, that as the foreign troops were become mutinous, and committed great excesses in the city, he thought it necessary to employ their forces against the foreigners. Imad-ool-Moolk, who had a sincere regard for Yoosoof Adil Khan, having placed him in security, permitted his troops to proceed under Adil Khan Deccany against the other foreigners. Kowam-ool-Moolk himself was one of the first who fell, and the gates of the city being kept shut, the Deccanies committed great slaughter on the foreign troops, who were unprepared for such an

attack. Yoorish Khan, Khoosh Kuddum Khan, and other officers, the adherents of Yoosoof Adil Khan, fought their way to the gates, which having forced, they admitted Duria Khan and a body of foreign troops from the camp outside the city. It is said the skirmishing in the streets of the capital continued for twenty days, during which time no fewer than four thousand men on either side lost their lives. At length, the holy men interfering as mediators, and many foreign officers of rank having fallen, Yoosoof Adil Khan consented to quit the capital, with his dependents, peaceably, and retire to Beejapoor.

Nizam-ool-Moolk, having now the sole power in his hands, conferred Beer, Dharoor, and many other districts on his son, Mullik Ahmud, and on Fukhr-ool-Moolk Deccany. The latter was the son of a slave of the late minister Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, a good soldier and a learned man: he was raised to the rank of commander of a thousand horse, and his son received the title of Khwaja Jehan. Imad-ool-Moolk was honoured with the office of vizier, and his son, Sheikh Alla-ood-Deen, was appointed his father's deputy in Berar. Kasim Bereed, who had shown great activity against the foreigners, was made kotwal* of the city and Meer Nobut.† Kowam-ool-Moolk, junior, was deputed to Tulingana, and Nizam-ool-Moolk and Imad-ool-Moolk, acting, during four

* Chief magistrate of police.

† Commander of the body guard.

years, in conjunction with the mother of Mahmood Shah, conducted all the affairs of government.

At length Dilawur Khan, the Abyssinian, envying their power, represented to the King, that his ministers paid no regard to his authority; and that, in concert with the Queen-mother, they usurped all the power of the state, treating him still as a child. This observation provoked Mahmood Shah, who authorised Dilawur Khan to assassinate the ministers. Accordingly, one night, when they were both gone to the Queen-mother's apartments, Dilawur Khan placed himself in the passage with another person, and as the ministers came out, rushed upon them with their sabres. Nizam-ool-Moolk received a wound; but as both he and Imad-ool-Moolk were expert swordsmen, they defended themselves, keeping up a running fight till they escaped out of the palace. Having now sent word to Kasim Bereed, that the King intended to assassinate him also, they fled, with their followers, out of the city. Kasim Bereed, securing the gates of the palace, prevented all access, to the King, who was reduced to such distress, that he wrote to the ministers, apologising for his conduct, and inviting them back. They insisted, however, that, prior to their return, Dilawur Khan should be put to death; which coming to his ears, he effected his escape, with his family, to Boorhanpoor.* Nizam-ool-Moolk, with his son, Mullik Ahmud, returned to the capital; but Imad-ool-Moolk withdrew to his government of Berar.

* In Kandeish.

Nizam-ool-Moolk, in order to strengthen his party, raised Mullik Wujjee and Mullik Ashruff, two brothers, formerly dependents of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, to high rank, appointing the elder governor of Dowlutabad, and the younger his deputy; at the same time exacting from them promises of attachment and fidelity to his son, Mullik Ahmud. He also intrusted the command of the fortresses of Purenda and Sholapoor to Mukdoom Khan,* entitled Khwaja Jehan Deccany, binding him by a similar oath; and at the expiration of three months, having obtained the King's permission, his son Mullik Ahmud was sent to Joonere as his father's deputy.

A. H. 891.
A. D. 1486.

In the year 891, Adil Khan Deccany governor of Wurungole, died, when Kowam-ool-Moolk, junior, came by forced marches from Rajmundry to that city, and established himself in Tulingana. Nizam-ool-Moolk, accompanied by the King, marched towards Wurungole; on which Kowam-ool-Moolk, falling back on Rajmundry, wrote secretly to the King, warning him against the minister. That imbecile prince, as if resigned to his fate, returned no answer, but immediately gave the letter to Nizam-ool-Moolk. The King, on reaching Wurungole, received advices from Mullik Ahmud Bheiry, that the port of Goa, which in the late reign had been granted to Kishwur Khan, and by him transferred to the charge of Nujm-ood-Deen Geelany, had, on the

* He had also the title of Fukhr-ool-Moolk.

death of the latter, been seized by one of his officers named Bahadur Geelany, who also occupied Dabul, Kolapoor, Kolhar, Punala, Sirala, and Belgam; and that, at the instigation of Yoosoof Adil Khan, he daily grew more turbulent, and committed insults on the port of Choul and other places on the sea-coast. The advices stated also, that Zein-ood-Deen, the jageerdar of Chakun, was in open revolt.

Nizam-ool-Moolk commanded his son first to reduce Zein-ood-Deen, and sent orders to Khwaja Jehan Deccany, governor of Purenda, and Mullik Wujjee, governor of Dowlutabad, to march to the support of his son. In this state of affairs, Zein-ood-Deen applied for assistance to Yoosoof Adil Khan of Beejapoor, who sent six thousand horse to join him, commanding them to encamp near the fort of Indapoor,* and there to watch the movements of Mullik Ahmud, and in case of his moving towards the Concan to hasten thither and oppose him.

When this news reached Wurungole, the influence of Nizam-ool-Moolk visibly declined. He was treated with slight by the King; and the attachment of Kasim Bereed, Dustoor Deenar, and the Abyssinian officers, to him, fell off. The King, who earnestly wished for his destruction,

* The position of Indapoor was well situated for preventing the junction of Khwaja Jehan Deccany from Purenda and Sholapoor, and enabled the troops to descend into the southern Concan by the Par Ghât to the relief of Choul, almost as soon as Mullik Ahmud could reach it from Joonere.

encouraged the defection of the chiefs by complaints of the minister's conduct, and authorised them to assassinate him on the first opportunity. Nizam-ool-Moolk, being informed of this circumstance, fled from the camp at midnight; but instead of joining his son at Joonere, proceeded to Ahmudabad Bidur, hoping to secure the King's treasure. Pussund Khan Deccany, who had been raised from the abyss of poverty to the rank of a noble, and was now governor of the capital, received him into the city with assurances of attachment. The minister, deeming himself secure, wrote to his son Mullik Ahmud to join him from Joonere without delay; and opening the royal treasures, distributed them with a lavish hand, in order to raise troops.

Mahmood Shah, on receiving intelligence of these proceedings, appointed Kootb-ool-Moolk governor of Tulingana, and hastened with his army towards Bidur. Nizam-ool-Moolk, finding his influence in the city declining, resolved to secure as much of the royal treasure as possible, and join his son; but Pussund Khan, contriving to delay his departure by artful practices, wrote privately to the King, advising him to advance without delay, when he would deliver the rebel into his hands. Mahmood Shah sent for answer, that if he was sincere, he would send the traitor's head to him as a proof of his loyalty, Pussund Khan, accordingly, attended by five hundred followers, went to Nizam-ool-Moolk in the palace, and pretended that he wished to converse with him in private, on affairs of importance. The

unsuspicious minister, complying with his request, retired with him into a private apartment, when Pussund Khan being young and strong, seized the defenceless old man by the throat and strangled him. Having cut off his head, he brought it out, and exposing it, caused a proclamation to be made, that such was the fate due to all traitors. After which, the head was sent by express messengers to the royal camp.

Mahmood Shah having returned to the city, intrusted the direction of public affairs to his other ministers; but, impelled by the indiscretion of youth, and being addicted to pleasure, he devoted his time to excesses of all sorts, without attending, in the least, to the cares of his kingdom. Among other instances of his folly, we may mention that of his taking the jewels from the Tukht Feroza, to set in salvers, vases, and drinking goblets.

A. H. 896.
A. D. 1490.

In the year 896, the Deccanies and Abyssinians again conspired to subvert the influence which the foreigners still possessed with the King. Pussund Khan, at length, combining with the Deccanies, agreed to assassinate Mahmood Shah, and to place another prince of the royal family on the throne. The conspirators repaired to the palace armed, lest the foreign troops on guard should come to the King's assistance; and at a late hour of the night, while he was engaged in festivity, they rushed towards the royal apartments. This occasioned some noise; but before Mahmood Shah could ascertain the

cause, a number of Deccanies, admitted by the porters, who were privy to the plot, entered the King's apartment. Azeez Khan Toork, with four other soldiers of the body-guard, besides Hussun Ally Subzwary and Syud Mirza Mushudy, though unarmed, threw themselves between the assassins and the King, nobly sacrificing their lives for his safety, which gave the latter time to gain the terrace of the royal tower, which, with the exception of the haram, was the only spot not in possession of the conspirators. They were, however, gallantly opposed by a few foreigners (the companions of the King's revelry) with stones, darts, and clods of earth. The King, fortunately, was able to communicate his situation to the foreign troops. Kasim Bereed, a Toork, with some others, at the head of about five hundred men, instantly repaired to the palace, but found the doors shut. Eight persons with great difficulty scaled the walls, and sounded their trumpets. Many of the Deccanies and Abyssinians, thinking all the Moguls had entered, opened the gates to make their escape, when eight-and-twenty Moguls of Subzwar received them with a shower of arrows, which drove them back, and they attempted to close the gates again: the foreigners rushing on prevented them; and Kishwur Khan, who had gone round to the foot of the King's tower, hearing the door was open, entered without delay. The conspirators now took shelter in the Agate palace, where they defended themselves. By this time the city was thrown into the utmost consternation, no

one knowing the cause; but the common people began to break open and plunder the houses of all foreigners. At length the moon rising, friends and enemies could be distinguished. The servants of the palace, who had in the first place admitted the conspirators, now turned against them, and setting fire to the straw roofs under which numbers were concealed, put them to the sword as they ran out, while about three hundred were collected in one apartment, waiting for an opportunity to force their way at dawn of day. Sooltan Jehangeer Khan Toork now took charge of the palace gates, and despatched Khan Jehan to guard the city and market, while the horses from the royal stables were taken out and distributed among the King's friends. At sunrise, Mahmood Shah ascended the throne, and commanded the foreigners to enter the houses of the treacherous Deccanies and Abyssinians, and put them to death without distinction; he authorised them to seize their property. For three days, successively, these orders were executed, and devastation raged throughout the city, no one daring to intercede with the King for pardon; till at length one of the sons of Shah Mohib Oolla requested that the massacre might cease, and he was successful in his application.

Mahmood Shah, in order to celebrate his escape from this danger, held a magnificent festival during forty days, and went in solemn procession through the city, the streets of which were handsomely ornamented for the occasion. Regarding the royal

tower as auspicious, he caused a splendid building to be erected on it, wherein he afterwards spent most of his time in a continued round of licentiousness. He totally neglected the affairs of his government leaving them entirely to the direction of his favourites. Musicians and dancers flocked to his court from Lahore, Dehly, Persia, and Khorassan; as also story-tellers, reciters of the Shah Nama, and other agents of pleasure. The people, following the example of the Prince, attended to nothing but dissipation: reverend sages pawned their very garments at the wine-cellars, and holy teachers, quitting their colleges, retired to taverns, and presided over the wine-flask. The governors of provinces seeing the court thus abandoned, acted independently, so that the royal officers only who entered into their views were permitted to retain their posts, and those who refused to connive at their encroachments were expelled. The consequence of this state of affairs became in a short time apparent; for excepting the province of Tulingana, and the districts adjacent to Ahmudabad Bidur, no parts of the kingdom in reality remained in the King's possession. The turufdars, however, with the exception of Mullik Ahmud Bheiry, professed obedience to the royal authority; but their submission was only nominal. If the King, at the desire of his minister, Kasim Bereed, took the field, and the provincial governors perceived any advantage to themselves in the expedition, they accompanied the royal standard, but with a retinue before which the King's sunk

into insignificance; and on his return to the capital they quitted him without going through the ceremony of asking leave. To evade the mortification of standing in the royal presence, or performing the customary obeisance to the King, these governors declined attending the court; and Mullik Ahmud Bheiry, who never forgave the King for the death of his father, refused to accompany the royal standard at all, but declared his independence at once, founded the city of Ahmudnuggur, and assuming the honours of majesty, sent ambassadors to Yoosoof Adil Khan and Futteh Oolla Imad-ool-Moolk, in order to prevail on them to follow his example and read the Khootba in their own names. It was accordingly resolved by all three of those chiefs to declare their independence at an early period.

Kasim Bereed, who had chosen for himself the turufdary of Ahmudabad Bidur and its vicinity, wished that the forts within his government should be occupied by his own dependents, but the royal garrisons refused to deliver them up.* Regarding their refusal as proceeding from the King's private orders, he also threw off his allegiance, and endeavoured to reduce them by force. On two occasions he defeated the royal troops, and was near expelling the King from his capital, when

* It will be recollected, that in the new regulations by Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, turufdars, or governors, had no control over forts within their provinces whose garrisons were furnished by troops sent from the court.

Dilawur Khan, Abyssinian, who had taken shelter at Boorhanpoor from the resentment of Nizam-ool-Moolk, hastened with an army to his sovereign's relief. Kasim Bereed being defeated fled to Golconda, pursued by Dilawur Khan, when Providence decreed a change of fortune. In the heat of pursuit, near Kowlas, a vicious elephant belonging to Dilawur Khan, refusing the guidance of his driver, ran back upon the army, and trampled many persons to death. Dilawur Khan, seeing the circumstance, seized a spear, and with some of his attendants attempted to turn the animal, but in vain; till the elephant rushing on, the soldiers gave way, and Dilawur Khan was seized by the furious animal in his trunk, and crushed to death. Kasim Bereed, hearing of this event, turned back upon the late victorious army, which, dispirited by the loss of its chief, fled, leaving all the baggage to fall into Kasim Bereed's hands. The King, unable to resist his power, now admitted him into the capital: a hollow reconciliation took place; and the minister, seated securely in his administration, left nothing but a nominal authority to Mahmood Shah. The historians of the Bereed Shah dynasty date its establishment from this period.

Kasim Bereed, envious of the increasing power of Yoosoof Adil Khan at Beejapoor, wrote to the Ray of Beejanuggur, that Yoosoof Adil Khan, having rebelled against the King, had assumed royal titles. Kasim Bereed promised the Ray if he would invade Beejapoor he should be rewarded

by the restoration of the forts of Moodkul and Rachore. The Ray, being a child, deputed his minister Timraj, with a powerful army against Yoosoof Adil Khan, and having committed great devastation obtained possession of the two forts. Yoosoof Adil Khan, however, having effected a peace with Timraj, marched to take revenge on Kasim Bereed, who applied for assistance to Mullik Ahmud Bheiry, the son of the late Nizam-ool-Moolk; offering, when his enemy should be expelled, to assist him with the royal influence in obtaining possession of Goa in the Concan, and of Punala and Mohkeir out of the hands of Bahadur Geelany, to be placed entirely at his disposal. Mullik Ahmud, assenting, induced Fukhr-ool-Moolk, entitled Khwaja Jehan, and his brother Zein Khan, from Purenda, to accompany him, and marched towards Ahmudabad Bidur, where he was shortly after joined by Kasim Bereed Toork, who had brought the King with him (though he never consulted him), and the whole proceeded against the enemy. Kasim Bereed placed the King in the centre of the army, and himself assumed an advanced position. Khwaja Jehan occupied the left, and Ahmud Nizam-ool-Moolk the right wing. Yoosoof Adil Khan drew up his troops as will be hereafter explained. The engagement which ensued was obstinately contested, till at length the centre, and the left under Khwaja Jehan, gave way, and the King's troops were defeated; while Ahmud Nizam-ool-Moolk and Yoosoof Adil Khan, after mutual explanations, each withdrew to his own country.

A. H. 899.
A. D. 1493.

In the year 899, Mahmood Shah Guzeraty sent an ambassador to the King, representing that Bahadur Geelany, who commanded on the sea-coast, had seized many rich ships belonging to the Guzerat merchants; and not content with committing such excesses, had sent his slave Yakoot, an Abyssinian, with twenty ships of war to Mahim,* which he had laid waste, without mercy, imprisoning the people, and burning mosques and other buildings, and even threatened to proceed against Surat. The ambassador represented that an army from Guzerat could not march into the country of Bahadur Geelany without passing through the Deccan, and it was impossible to convey a sufficient force by sea; therefore it was incumbent on the King to punish those excesses; but should he declare himself unequal to the task, the necessary measures should be taken by sending troops from Guzerat.

Mahmood Shah, roused by this message, resolved to reduce Bahadur Geelany, and applied for support from his vassals; who apprehensive of incurring the resentment of the King of Guzerat, and hoping to share in the plunder of the rebel, complied with his orders. Yoosoof Adil Khan sent his general, Kumal Khan, with five thousand horse, to join the royal standard; Mullik Ahmud Bheiry supplied the same number under Moetibar Khan; and Imad-ool-Moolk also

* Bombay.

furnished a body of troops under the command of one of his chief officers.

Meanwhile Mahmood Shah despatched a mandate to Bahadur Geelany, informing him of the complaints of his ally, the King of Guzerat, and demanding restitution of the places, ships, effects, and captives he had seized from that state. Bahadur Khan, hearing that a confidential servant had been despatched with this communication gave orders for his being detained on the road, in the town of Mirch, and treated with contempt the royal authority, upon which Mahmood Shah began his march, and pushed on without delay. Upon his arrival before the fortress of Jumkindy, he ordered Kootb-ool-Moolk, turufdar of Tulingana, to besiege it; but that general being killed by an arrow from the walls, as he was reconnoitring, the King conferred his office and titles on Sooltan Koolly,* with Bongeer, Doorgy,† and other districts of Tulingana, in jageer, to support his dignity. Jumkindy being taken, and delivered over to the troops of Yoosoof Adil Khan, they moved to Sunkeswur, where Bahadur Khan had taken up his residence; but before the royal army arrived, he abandoned the place, which was taken from his garrison in three days, the works not being completely finished. Mahmood Shah, by the advice of Kasim Bereed, next moved against

* Sooltan Koolly, entitled Kootb-ool-Moolk, who established the dynasty of Kootb Shahy at Golconda.

† The situation of this place has not been ascertained.

Mirch; and the troops of Bahadur Khan having met him in the field were defeated with great slaughter, the survivors retiring into the fortress. After a long siege, the governor, seeing no hopes of relief, begged for quarter, which (with the approbation of Kasim Bereed) was granted, and the latter received twenty-five horses belonging to Bahadur Khan. At the same time assurances were given to his followers that such as chose to enter into his survice should be enrolled, and the rest be allowed to depart, but without retaining either their horses or their arms. The troops replied, that after surrendering the fort, as also their horses and arms, they could not approach their chief, and would rather suffer death. The King, admiring their fortitude and fidelity, acquiesced in their request, and gave them permission to rejoin Bahadur Khan.

On the fall of Mirch, the King marched towards Walwa; and in the mean time Bahadur Geelany, listening to the advice of his friends, sent Khwaja Neamut Oolla Geelany to make offers of submission. The King, with the consent of Kasim Bereed, agreed to pardon Bahadur Geelany, to restore some of the conquered places, and to confirm him in his remaining possessions, if he would make atonement in person, pay a sum of money, and present two elephants. Neamut Oolla wrote to his master the result of his embassy, and advised him to repair to the royal camp without delay. Bahadur Khan, however, conceiving that the King's generosity proceeded from weakness, rejected the terms. He shortly after made an attack on the King's baggage, and

declared his intention to have the Khootba read in his own name at the capital of Ahmudabad Bidur during that year, and in the next in Guzerat. Mahmood Shah, enraged at this insolence, marched from Walwa to Kolhar, which he reduced; and following up his successes, Bahadur Khan's affairs declined daily, till at length he fled to the fortress of Punala, the strongest place in his possession. The King not wishing to sit down before it halted at Kolapore, intending to proceed from thence to Dabul, and amuse himself on the sea; upon which Bahadur Khan quitted Punala, with a design to lie in wait for the King on his route. In the end, however, not daring to execute his plan, he fled, and numbers of his people leaving him, some joined the King, and others went to Yoosoof Adil Khan. Mahmood Shah, with the advice of Kasim Bereed, now detached Khwaja Jehan, governor of the fort of Purenda, to prevent Bahadur Khan's reentering Punala; and on his arrival at Kolapore, as the rainy season had set in, resolved to halt there for some time.

Bahadur Khan now became humble, and again sent Khwaja Neamut Oolla and Mujd-ood-Deen to court with petitions, declaring, that if a promise of pardon should be sent under the royal hand, with the seals of Kasim Bereed and the principal chiefs affixed, he would come to the presence, and during the remainder of his life never depart from his duty and loyalty. The King complied with his request, and in order to allay his fears, despatched some respectable persons to conduct him to court. On their arrival

at Bahadur Khan's camp, his evil stars would not allow him to submit, and he started new difficulties; upon which the King recalled Khwaja Jehan from the siege of Punala, and sent him with some other officers against the enemy. Bahadur Khan advanced to meet the royalists, with two thousand horse, and fifteen thousand foot. A severe action ensued, and Bahadur Khan being killed by an arrow, his troops fled. Khwaja Jehan cut off the rebel's head, and brought it to the royal camp, where the King honoured him with a suit of his own robes, and presented him with the elephants and horses taken in the action.

Two or three days after this victory, the King went to view the fortress of Punala, and despatched Mullik Ein-ool-Moolk Geelany to Goa, to condole with his brother Mullik Syeed, and bring him to the presence. At the suggestion of Kasim Bereed, Bahadur Khan's estate was conferred on Mullik Ein-ool-Moolk Geelany; and the King, with a few of his principal nobles, went to Dabul, and sailed for his amusement along the coast, after which he returned towards his capital. On the route he spent some time at the Kalabagh, a garden near Beejapoor, planted by the late Khwaja Mahmood Gawan. On his arrival at Ahmudabad Bidur, the King despatched ambassadors with rich presents to Mahmood Shah of Guzerat. Among other articles, according to the historians of the time, he sent five muns (Dehly weight) of pearls, five elephants, and a handsome dagger, studded

with jewels; he also released Kumal Khan, Sufdur Khan, and other prisoners of distinction, taken by Bahadur Khan Geelany, together with twenty ships and cargoes which he had seized.

A. H. 901.
A. D. 1495.

In the year 901, Sooltan Koolly Kootb-ool-Moolk Hamdany was appointed turufdar of Tulingana, and Golconda and Wurungole with their dependencies were added to his jageer; and Dustoor Deenar was constituted governor of Sagur and Ahsunabad Koolburga. The King being persuaded that the munsubdars* stationed with the great officers connived at measures which increased their power, withdrew all those who were with Dustoor Deenar, and ordered them to return to their duty at court. Dustoor Deenar, offended at this proceeding, in conjunction with Azeez-ool-Moolk Deccany, went into rebellion, and having collected between seven and eight thousand Abyssinians and Deccanies, he seized some of the King's districts near Koolburga. Mahmood Shah demanded the assistance of Yoosoof Adil Khan, who joined him with an army. An engagement took place near the town of Myndurgy,† in which the rebels were defeated, and Dustoor Deenar taken prisoner. The King would have put him to death, but was prevailed upon, at the intercession of Yoosoof Adil Khan, not only to pardon but to reinstate him in his government. As some of the rebels had taken shelter in the fort of Sagur, the King laid siege to it, and on its

* Military officers commanding troops dependent on the court.

† Situated near Akulkote.

reduction gave it to Yoosoof Adil Khan, after which he returned to his capital.*

A. H. 902.
A. D. 1496.

In the year 902, Yoosoof Deccany, Yoorish Khan, Mirza Shums-ood-Deen, and others, who had the King's confidence, entered into a plot with some of the Turkish officers to destroy Kasim Bereed; but he, gaining intelligence of their designs, put them to death with all their abettors. The King, enraged at this presumption, would not admit him into his presence for a whole month. At length, through the mediation of Shah Mohib Oolla, he was, with much difficulty, prevailed on to forgive and receive him into favour; after which the King relapsed into his usual indolence and debaucheries.

A. H. 903.
A. D. 1497.

In the year 903, Mahomed Shah asked the infant daughter of Yoosoof Adil Khan in marriage for his son Ahmud, then fourteen years of age. After much negotiation, it was settled that the nuptial ceremonies should take place at Koolburga; accordingly the King repaired to that city, where Yoosoof Adil Khan entertained him with great splendour. The knot of marriage was tied by Abd-oos-Summud, kazy of the royal camp; and it was agreed that the bride should be delivered to the Prince as soon as she should attain the age of ten years. The festival was still celebrating, when Dustoor Deenar and Yoosoof Adil Khan

* The events of this campaign are more fully detailed in the history of the kings of Beejapoor.

contended for the government of Koolburga; insisting on having not only Koolburga but also Alund, Gunjowty, and Kulliany; so that his government might be connected with that of Bidur, while Dustoor Deenar maintained that the Beema river ought to be the limits of the Beejapoor province, and required that Koolburga, Sagur, and Etgeer should belong to him. The King refusing to interfere in the dispute, Dustoor Deenar retired to Purenda; and contention grew high between Adil Khan and Kasim Bereed, who opposed his pretensions. Kootb-ool-Moolk taking part with Yoosoof Adil Khan, Kasim Bereed became alarmed, and moved with his eldest son and his followers to Alund, upon which Yoosoof Adil Khan, leaving the festival unconcluded, took the King with him, and together with Kootb-ool-Moolk, Mullik Elias, and Ein-ool-Moolk, marched against Kasim Bereed, who was defeated, and fled to Purenda. This event so strengthened the power of Adil Khan, that the King even declined ascending the throne in his presence. All the chiefs having through the influence of Yoosoof Adil Khan obtained their demands retired to their districts. On the dispersion of the army, Kasim Bereed ventured to return to court, and obtained the office of Vakeel as before, but conducted himself so cruelly towards his unfortunate sovereign, that he would not allow him even to satisfy his thirst without permission.

A. H. 904.
A. D. 1498.

In the year 904, Yoosoof Adil Khan led an army against Dustoor Deenar, who fled from Koolburga. He was

persuaded, however, by Kasim Bereed to seek protection with Mullik Ahmud Nizam-ool-Moolk at Ahmudnuggur. That chief having espoused his cause warmly, Yoosoof Adil Khan was unable to oppose him, and went to Ahmudabad Bidur, where the King wrote to Mullik Ahmud to desist from interference.

A. H. 910.
A. D. 1504.

In the year 910, Kasim Bereed died, and his son Ameer Bereed succeeded him in office, and assuming greater authority even than his father, deprived Mahmood Shah of the little power left him. Immediately after this event, Yoosoof Adil Khan, availing himself of the circumstance of Kasim Bereed's death, made an attack on Dustoor Deenar, who opposed him in battle, but was slain, and all his districts fell into the possession of Yoosoof Adil Khan. Shortly after, assuming the title of Shah, Yoosoof caused the Khootba to be read in Beejapoor conformably to the tenets of the Sheea persuasion, which never having been done before in any part of Hindoostan, the minds of all the Deccanies revolted against him. Mahmood Shah was now induced by Ameer Bereed to address letters to Kootb-ool-Moolk, to Imad-ool-Moolk, and to Khodawund Khan, stating that Yoosoof Adil Khan having thrown off his allegiance, had not only exalted the ensigns of rebellion, but had introduced the tenets of heretics in the countries of Islam; he required, therefore, the orthodox faithful to rally around the royal standard, in order to reduce Yoosoof Adil Khan. On the margin of each letter the King wrote the following

verse :—"He is grown so proud in the pleni-"tude of his riches, that the sun in his eyes appears but in atom."

Kootb-ool-Moolk, with the officers of Tulingana, repaired to court without delay; but Imad-ool-Moolk and Khodawund Khan made excuses; upon which Ameer Bereed applied for succours to Mullik Ahmud Bheiry, who with Khwaja Jehan Deccany marched to Ahmudabad Bidur, and joined the King. Yoosoof Adil Khan, finding it imprudent to oppose so powerful a league in the field, committed Koolburga and Alund to the charge of Duria Khan and Fukhr-ool-Moolk Toork and leaving his son Ismael Khan, then an infant at the breast, with his mother and treasure, at Beejapoor, under the care of Kumal Khan Deccany, went to Berar, attended by five thousand chosen horse. Mahmood Shah pursued him with great expedition; and Yoosoof Adil Khan, finding on his arrival in the camp of Imad-ool-Moolk that cheif not disposed to protect him, at the risk of drawing on him the whole of the King's army, retired to Boorhanpoor.

Imad-ool-Moolk, however, communicated privately with Mullik Ahmud, in order to persuade him that Ameer Bereed only desired to ruin Yoosoof Adil Khan, in order to obtain possession of Beejapoor; in which if he succeeded, and still kept the King in his hands, he would then effect the destruction of others; that, therefore, it were better for the confederates to retire to their own country, and leave him to deal with the minister. Mullik Ahmud and Kootb-ool-Moolk, both

entering into this view of the case, suddenly withdrew homewards, without taking leave of the King; and the next morning Imad-ool-Moolk sent petitions to court in favour of Yoosoof Adil Khan, begging the King to pardon him, and to return to the capital.

The King, at the instigation of Ameer Bereed, refused to comply; and Yoosoof Adil Khan hearing of the retreat of the two most powerful chiefs was encouraged to rejoin Imad-ool-Moolk, who in conjunction with him moved to attack the royal army. Ameer Bereed deeming himself unequal to defend his camp left it standing, and fled with the King to Ahmudabad Bidur. Adil Khan and Imad-ool-Moolk having divided the booty abandoned by the royalists, returned to their several capitals.

A. H. 916.
A. D. 1510.

In the year 916, Yoosoof Adil Khan dying, Ameer Bereed marched to reduce Beejapoor; but all his attempts proved vain, and the family on that throne increased daily in power.

A. H. 918.
A. D. 1512.

In the year 918, Kootb-ool-Moolk assuming independence, ejected the King's name from the Khootba, notwithstanding which he continued to send to Mahmood Shah privately, every year, a present in money.

A. H. 920.
A. D. 1514.

In 920, Ameer Bereed having levied a great army with the royal treasures, marched with the King, and took Koolburga from the garrison of Ismael Adil Shah, conferring it on Jehangeer Khan, the son of the late Dustoor Deenar, for whom he procured the title of Dustoor-ool-Moolk. This chief having

collected troops recovered all the forts on the east of the Beema river, from Sagur to Nuldroog, which had been held by his father; and Ameer Bereed receiving reinforcements from Mullik Ahmud Bheiry and Kootb-ool-Moolk crossed the river with twenty thousand men, and proceeded by regular marches to Beejapoor. Ismael Adil Khan gave him battle near the city, and totally defeated him, so that he fled in the greatest confusion; while Mahmood Shah (who had fallen from his horse and received a severe bruise), together with his son Ahmud Khan, were left defenceless on the field, and taken prisoners. Ismael Adil Shah, observing the respect due to crowned heads, treated the King with attention, and provided him with every convenience becoming his high rank.

Mahmood Shah, shortly after, went with Ismael Adil Khan to Koolburga, where the ceremony of the nuptials between the Prince Ahmud and Beeby Musseety, sister to Ismael Adil Shah, were celebrated with great magnificence. The King having obtained five thousand foreign horse as a escort, marched to Ahmudabad Bidur, which Ameer Bereed evacuated on his approach, and retired to the fort of Ousa. Mahmood Shah now took possession of his capital; but soon after, the officers of Ismael Adil Shah, on hearing that Ameer Bereed had received aid from Boorhan Nizam-ool-Moolk, the son of the late Mullik Ahmud, deserted the King, and the minister returning, put him under greater restraint than before. Weary of his situation, the unfortunate Mahmood Shah found

means to effect his escape to Gavul, in Berar, where he procured assistance from Imad-ool-Moolk, who marched with him towards the capital. Ameer Bereed, shutting himself up in the citadel, applied for relief to Boorhan Nizam-ool-Moolk, who despatched Khwaja Jehan to join him with a considerable force.

Ameer Bereed and his ally now sallied forth against the troops of Imad-ool-Moolk, who prepared to receive them, and drew up his army for action. It happened that the King was bathing at the time; and the messenger sent by Imad-ool-Moolk to inform him of the enemy's approach insolenty remarked, within his hearing, that it was no wonder a prince who could be so employed at such a critical moment should be the derision of his nobles. The King, stung with the reproof, and enraged at what he thought proceeded from the insolence of Imad-ool-Moolk, joined the line as soon as possible; but suddenly spurring his horse, galloped over to Ameer Bereed's army. Imad-ool-Moolk immediately retreated with precipitation towards his own country, and the minister returned triumphantly into the city with the King.

Ameer Bereed now put the King into such close confinement, that he could not possibly escape again. Mahmood Shah, wearied with disappointments, grown old, and become weak in intellect, gave up his authority without a struggle, and contented himself with the pleasures of wine, women, and the external

A. H. 923.
A. D. 1517.

pageantry of royalty. In the year 923, Ameer Bereed found it necessary to march with him to Mahoor against Basheer Khan, who with his son was slain in battle and Mahoor was conferred on Ghalib Khan; after which Mahmood Shah II, returned to his capital, where he died on the 4th of Zilhuj, after a reign of thirty-seven years and twenty days of constant vicissitude and trouble.

Zilhuj 4.
A. H. 924.
October 21.
A. D. 1518.

AHMUD SHAH BAHMUNY II.

Mahmood the Second is succeeded by his son Ahmud Shah the Second.—Ameer Bereed has the entire control of the government in his hands, and the King is reduced to be a mere pensioner—sells the crown jewels for his maintenance.—The minister Ameer Bereed puts many people to death for being concerned in the transaction.—The purchasers make their escape to Beejanuggur.—The King dies.

AMEER BEREED had but a small territory in his possession, and dreading, should he assume open independence, that the surrounding powers would attack him, placed the Prince Ahmud, son of Mahmood Shah, upon the throne, leaving him the palace, with the use of the royal jewels and a daily allowance of money for his support; which not being equal to his expenses, the King broke up the crown, valued at four hundred thousand hoons,* and privately sold the jewels. The minister having obtained information of this circumstance put many musicians and others to death for being concerned in the sale; but he never could recover the jewels, the purchasers having fled with them to Beejanuggur. Ahmud Shah

* 160,000*l*.

sent agents privately to Ismael Adil Shah, complaining of the ill usage he experienced; and the latter despatched ambassadors with presents to court; but before their arrival, Ahmud Shah II. died, two years after his accession to the throne, in the year 927.

A. H. 927.
A. D. 1520

ALLA-OOD-DEEN SHAH BAHMUNY II.

Ameer Bereed determines on elevating Alla-ood-Deen Bahmuny to the throne.—The King abstains from the licentious habits of his predecessors, and attends to business—contrives a plot to seize the minister.—The project discovered—the abettors put to death.—The King deposed, and murdered in prison.

Ameer Bereed kept the throne vacant nearly fourteen days after the death of Ahmud Shah, and then, instead of ascending it himself, he deemed it prudent to place the crown on the head of one of the Bahmuny family; accordingly Alla-ood-Deen the Second was selected for that purpose.

This Prince, who was by nature a person of excellent understanding, having witnessed the fatal consequences of the debaucheries of his predecessors, refrained from excesses, and turned his thoughts to reduce Ameer Bereed, whom he conciliated so much as to throw him off his guard. He then privately placed near his apartments a band of armed men, resolving to take the minister prisoner, when he visited him at the following new moon. Ameer Bereed, agreeably to custom, came with his sons to congratulate the King; but just as he had reached the apartment, one of the concealed persons happening to sneeze,* he

* Sneezing throughout the East, is considered portentous either of good or evil; but always indicates some change of circumstance.

was alarmed, and turning back, sent in guards to examine the avenues. The plot was discovered, and all who were concerned in it put to death. The King was deposed, after a short reign of two years and three months, and placed in confinement, in which situation he was shortly after murdered.

WULLY OOLLA SHAH BAHMUNY.

Wully Oolla Shah, the son of Mahmood Shah the Second, raised to the throne.—The minister conceives a passion for the Queen—poisons the King, and marries his widow.

After deposing Alla-ood-Deen Shah, Ameer Bereed raised Wully Oolla, another son of Mahmood Shah Bahmuny II., to the throne. This Prince, satisfied with the pension that was allotted to him, refrained from interfering in public business. At length, becoming impatient of restraint, he endeavoured to procure more liberty, on which he was confined altogether to his palace. Three years after his accession, Ameer Bereed conceiving a passion for the King's wife, he caused him to be poisoned, and espoused the Queen.

KULLEEM OOLLA SHAH BAHMUNY.

Is raised to the nominal dignity of King, but is kept a state prisoner in the capital.—Deputes one of his companions, in disguise, to Babur, who had then invaded India.—Ameer Bereed hears of this mission—renders the King's confinement more rigid.—The King escapes, and seeks protection with Ismael Adil Shah, his mother's brother.—Dissatisfied with his reception, he retires to the court of Ahmudnuggur, where he remains till his death.—Dissolution of the Bahmuny dynasty.

AFTER the death of Wully Oolla, Kulleem Oolla Shah, the son of Ahmud Shah by the daughter of Yoosoof Adil Shah, was styled King. Kulleem Oolla enjoyed nothing but the name of sovereign, and was never permitted to quit the palace. In the year 933, the Emperor Babur conquered Dehly; upon which, Ismael Adil Shah, Boorhan Nizam Shah, and Kootb Shah, sent ambassadors to his court. Kulleem Oolla Shah, also, deputed one of his companions, in disguise, with a petition to the Emperor; setting forth, that his kingdom had been usurped, and his person confined by rebellious servants: offering, if the Emperor of Dehly would relieve him from his distressed situation, to cede to him Dowlutabad and the province of Berar. Babur, not being yet confirmed in his conquests, the kings of Malwa and Guzerat being still unsubdued, paid no attention to this request;

A. H. 933.
A. D. 1526

but the circumstance coming to the knowledge of Ameer Bereed, he treated the King with greater rigour, who making his escape to his uncle Ismael Adil Shah of Beejapoor, was received by him honourably, in hopes of using his name to his own advantage; but the King, dissatisfied with his reception, retired to Boorhan Nizam Shah of Ahmudnuggur. That Prince, at first, conducted himself so respectfully as to submit to stand in his presence; but being told, that such homage was acknowledging some defect in his own title to royalty, he discontinued the practice. Kulleem Oolla Shah, however, resided at Ahmudnuggur till his death, and with him ended the dynasty of Bahmuny. The Deccan had, in truth, before this event, been divided into five kingdoms, viz. Adil Shahy, or kings of Beejapoor; Kootb Shahy, or kings of Golconda; Imad Shahy, or kings of Berar; Nizam Shahy, or kings of Ahmudnuggur; and Bereed Shahy, or kings of Ahmudabad Bidur; —the histories of which will form the subject of the next volume.
